

EDUCATION

IN THE UNITED STATES

Third Revised Edition

BY

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TO
JAMES MINOR LUDLOW, JR.
AND
ANNE LINCOLN LUDLOW

PREFACE TO THIRD REVISED EDITION

This book first appeared at the end of a decade that had witnessed the achievement of the loftiest quantitative triumphs of American education. Then, in 1929, began the great depression that dislocated the spirit as well as the economy of the American people and seemed to shake their faith in much of their educational handiwork. A new edition of the book appeared after this country had struggled through nearly five years of that confusing crisis. During those years some hard things were said about education in the United States, when many of its fair promises seemed unfulfilled. Politicians and statesmen, lawyers and clergymen, pedagogues and penologists, editors and businessmen, almost everybody tore savagely into the largest and most important public enterprise in which the people of the United States ever had engaged and pointed to its weaknesses and failures. The second revised edition appeared during the most severe crisis the Western world had ever faced. The First World War had jarred respect for mankind, brought on fatigue of the human spirit, encouraged cynicism, and led many people to the belief that in the primitive passions and ruthlessness of war men saw themselves as they really were. That conflict dealt heavy body blows to the hope of peace in the world. The Second World War seemed not to increase that hope; rather the 1940's witnessed the world as giving itself over almost completely to hatred and violence. Since totalitarianism began to threaten the world, and especially since the fall of France in 1940, the American people became more concerned than ever before about the preservation of their democratic way of life and their freedoms. They saw war become stronger and stronger as the

destroyer of human values; they saw the physical sciences come to owe much of their progress to the production of weapons of war, and they saw science cultivated in large part for the purpose of prostituting science. Moreover, there was some evidence that the American people had been taking democracy for granted, just as they had taken for granted freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of conscience, and freedom of assembly, whose roots ran back into the distant past—freedoms that had been won through many bloody centuries.

The present edition appears at the end of an extraordinary decade and in the middle of an extraordinary century. The decade of the 1940's was highly significant in the history of the United States and of American education. It witnessed very important educational events and developments and wide discussions of some old issues and many new issues as well. Before the United States got into the Second World War there was evidence of increasing confusion and uncertainty not only in education but in many other aspects of American life. Economic, political, social, and educational unrest was conspicuous and there were vigorous criticisms of educational theories and practices. Despite confusion and uncertainty and the conflicting theories of government and of education, however, the decade of the 1940's will probably be considered one of the most important in American educational history.

During these recent troubled years the American people have become vitally aware of the persistent educational issues which face the United States. The issues before education today have been dramatically outlined against the pattern of world events, and education has emerged as one of the greatest implements of world peace. But these issues have also become the clear responsibility of each citizen and each community. Not only the student and the teacher but people everywhere have grown to face such issues squarely.

These anxious years have seen a great increase in the number of books and articles which have tried to clarify the problems of education in a free society. The attention which the daily press has given to the issues before American education in recent years has changed the subject into front-page news, of interest not only to the student of education and the educational practitioner but to the public at large. The present edition reports the major educational developments in the United States during this decade. In addition, the early portions of the book have been carefully revised, the factual material brought up to date as nearly as possible, and the latest literature on various phases of American education has been included at the end of each chapter.

The publication in recent years of several books in the history of education, and the launching of *The History of Education Journal* by the History of Education Section of the National Society of College Teachers of Education seems to indicate a healthy and promising revival of interest in this subject. In the present edition an effort is made to call to the student's attention the historical antecedents of our current issues or problems, and to stimulate the study of educational history through the use of historical documents. Acquaintance with original sources has long been properly recognized as the foundation of all sound historical knowledge.

EDGAR W. KNIGHT

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A NOTE ON READINGS

At the end of each chapter is a list of readings to supplement the text. In addition a general bibliography, which includes some of the items in these lists ("References and Readings"), is given below. These materials should be found in the libraries of most American colleges and universities.

ALLEN, HOLLIS P. *The Federal Government and Education*. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1950.

The full text of a report prepared at the Brookings Institution, Washington, in a study of Federal policy and organization for education; very useful.

BARNARD, HENRY (Editor). *American Journal of Education*. Hartford, Connecticut, 1855-1881. Thirty-one volumes. Reprinted by C. W. Bardeen, Syracuse, N.Y., in 1902. The index volume was published by the United States Bureau of Education, Washington, D.C., in 1892.

These volumes, of about eight hundred pages each, contain valuable historical and educational information. The most encyclopedic of all the many educational journals published in the United States in the nineteenth century; perhaps the best work on educational progress and educational materials in this country and in Europe. Useful for information on European and American educational history. Contains the most important educational writings from Plato to Herbert Spencer, accounts of school systems everywhere, and sketches of educational theorists and reformers. Out of this work grew the *Report* of the United States Commissioner of Education.

BEARD, CHARLES A. (Editor). *A Century of Progress*. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1932.

A treatment, by specialists, of the most prominent "events and achievements in their respective fields during the past century of American history." Contains useful chapters on the idea of progress, invention as a social manifestation, industry, transportation and communication, agriculture, labor, banking and finance, government and law, the process of social transformation, the changing position of women, the advancement of natural science, medicine, education, the arts, and literature.

BECK, H. P. *Men Who Control Our Universities*. King's Crown Press, New York, 1947.

A penetrating and scholarly inquiry into the kind of people who make up the trustees of higher educational institutions.

BRICKMAN, WILLIAM W. *Guide to Research in Educational History*. New York University Book Store, 1949.

A very useful attempt to indicate the importance of using original materials in the study of educational history

BURY, J. B. *The Idea of Progress*. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1932.

An American edition of Bury's famous book, the celebrated inquiry into the origin and growth of the concept of progress "Here is a scholarly survey of the history of the idea," says Charles A. Beard, who wrote the brilliant introduction to the book, "which all Americans who write or speak about the subject should read."

BUTTS, R. FREEMAN *The American Tradition in Religion and Education*. The Beacon Press, Boston, 1950.

A very useful analysis and exposition of the old issue of the relationship between Church and State that had become very lively by the middle of the twentieth century.

CUBBERLEY, E. P. *Public Education in the United States* (Revised and Enlarged Edition). Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1934.

CUBBERLEY, E. P. *Readings in Public Education in the United States*. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1934.

Two very good volumes dealing with the social and educational history of the United States

DABNEY, CHARLES W. *Universal Education in the South*. Two volumes. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1936.

Volume I treats the subject from its beginning to 1900 and Volume II since 1900, with especial emphasis on the Southern education movement.

DOUGLASS, AUBREY A. *The American School System* (Revised Edition). Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., New York, 1940.

A very useful survey of the principles and practices of education in the United States.

DUGGAN, S. P. *A Student's Textbook in the History of Education* (Revised and Enlarged Edition). D Appleton-Century Company, New York, 1936.

A brief but well-written account of general educational development with useful material. Chapter XVII and a part of Chapter XVIII deal with education in the United States.

EDWARDS, NEWTON, and RICHEY, HERMAN G. *The School in the American Social Order*. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1947.

Shows how education "is in large measure the product of the civilization of which it is a part" Very interestingly written.

ELSBREE, WILLARD S. *The American Teacher*. American Book Company, New York, 1939.

Combines a valuable historical account of the subject with an excellent discussion of "The Emergence of the Professional Teacher."

GRAVES, FRANK P. *A Student's History of Education* (Revised Edition). The Macmillan Company, New York, 1936.

A very readable account of present-day educational practices in the light of their development. Contains (chaps. xii, xiii, xv, xvii, and xx) useful material on the development of education in the United States.

HOLLIS, E. V. *Philanthropic Foundations and Higher Education*. Columbia University Press, New York, 1938.

A very useful and comprehensive account of the rise, organization, and work of the numerous philanthropic foundations in the United States. Contains an excellent bibliography on this important subject.

JOHNSON, CHARLES S. *The Negro College Graduate*. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1938.

An interesting and valuable account of negro graduates in the United States, from the time the first American negro (John Russwurm) graduated at Bowdoin College, in 1826, to 1936. A general study of more than forty-three thousand negro college and professional-school graduates. Contains an excellent bibliography on negro education.

KANDEL, I. L. *The Impact of the War upon American Education*. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1948.

Examines the educational deficiencies disclosed by the Second World War. Higher education lacks "a sense of direction."

KNIGHT, EDGAR W. *Public Education in the South*. Ginn and Company, Boston, 1922.

Deals with the rise, growth, and problems of education in the southern section of the United States.

KNIGHT, EDGAR W. *Twenty Centuries of Education*. Ginn and Company, Boston, 1940.

Chapters XII-XV and parts of Chapters XVII, XVIII, XIX, and XXI bear on education in the United States.

KNIGHT, EDGAR W., and HALL, CLIFTON L. Documents of American Education. Appleton-Century-Crofts Company, New York, 1951.

A carefully selected list of the major documents bearing on American educational history from 1617 to 1950.

Law and Contemporary Problems. Duke University Law School, Durham, N.C., 1950.

A significant symposium on the relationship between religion and the state, with useful chapters on "the United States Supreme Court as the national school board," the separation of the Church and State, religion in the schools, and allied subjects.

McCUSTON, FRED. Graduate Instruction for Negroes in the United States. George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee, 1939.

An interesting study of a problem that became acute, especially in the Southern states, after the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Missouri Case, December, 1938

MONROE, PAUL (Editor). A Cyclopedia of Education. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1910-1913.

The best reference work in English on education. Full of scholarly accounts of the most important subjects in this broad field, alphabetically arranged, with excellent cross references. Should be available and consulted freely in connection with the various subjects treated in this book.

MONROE, WALTER S. (Editor). Encyclopedia of Educational Research. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1950.

Revised edition of a most useful volume that first appeared in 1941, sponsored by the American Educational Research Association. Estimates at least 100,000 studies on various phases of education.

MORISON, SAMUEL ELIOT. The Puritan Pronaos. New York University Press, 1936.

Studies in the intellectual life of New England in the seventeenth century: beginnings of higher education, elementary schools, public grammar schools, printing, bookselling, libraries, and the act of 1647.

NOCK, ALBERT JAY. The Theory of Education in the United States. Henry Regnery Company, Chicago, 1949.

First appeared in 1932, as the Page-Barbour Lectures at the University of Virginia. Abraham Flexner calls it a small volume "worthy in style and content of Matthew Arnold's pen and brain . . . not from a professor in a school of education, but from an urbane and mellow scholar."

NOBLE, STUART G. *A History of American Education*. Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., New York, 1938.

An interesting story of the growth of education in the United States, containing useful bibliographies and questions for further study

PARKER, S C *A Textbook in the History of Modern Elementary Education*. Ginn and Company, Boston, 1912.

Old, but the best single account of the rise and growth of elementary education.

RUSSELL, JOHN DALE, and JUDD, CHARLES H. *The American Educational System*. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1940.

A very good introduction to education in the United States, with discussions of many present-day issues and trends.

SMITH, MORTIMER. *And Madly Teach*. Henry Regnery Company, Chicago, 1949.

A "layman and amateur" who wrote a brief essay that so bristled with criticisms of the foibles and pitfalls of contemporary American education as to provoke arguments from professors of education and members of the P.T.A.

The Advisory Committee on Education. *Report of the Committee*. United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1938.

An excellent picture of educational conditions in the United States, as of 1936, with recommendations for Federal aid.

WOODSON, CARTER G. *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861*. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1915.

A good account of the education of the American negro before his emancipation.

The Encyclopædia Britannica (Fourteenth Edition). London and New York, 1929.

Contains many useful articles on educational theory, psychology, the science of education, educational experiments, history of education, national school systems, and other important educational topics, including the lives of eminent educational theorists and reformers.

The Forty-Eight State School Systems. The Council of State Governments, Chicago, 1949.

Contains many useful and significant as well as some disturbing facts about American education at the middle of the twentieth century, and shows how uneven progress has been.

There are numerous local and regional educational journals in the United States. Strictly educational journals have become "big business." In 1950 the number of such journals was about 800—state, regional, and national, under nearly fifty different classifications—and between 1940 and 1945 nearly 100 new journals were projected. The *Yearbook* of the Educational Press Association of America makes interesting reading. Moreover, popular interest in education is attested by the attention given to the subject by other magazines, journals, and the daily press. Besides, such magazines as *The Atlantic*, *Harper's*, *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, *The Saturday Evening Post*, *The Ladies' Home Journal*, to mention only a few, frequently carry articles and essays on education; *Time* and *Newsweek* usually carry a special educational page every week, and *The New York Times* devotes at least one page on Sunday to educational news and issues. The student of educational history finds these sources of current educational information very useful.

EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I

PRESENT CONDITIONS

Outline of the chapter. 1. The principles of American education, which is now the largest public enterprise in the United States, became accepted only after very bitter contests.

2 Each state, upon which rests the chief responsibility for education, has provided for the organization, administration, and the support of a public-school system.

3. Below the state are the local administrative units: the county, the town, the township, the city, and the district.

4. The financial support of public education is derived from many forms of taxation.

5. Greatly increased costs of schools between 1940 and 1950 constitute difficult problems.

6 The public educational system of a typical state includes schools of elementary, secondary, and higher grade and technical and professional institutions, which require nearly a million teachers and administrators.

7. Although there are numerous agencies for the training of teachers, the changes in teaching personnel are very frequent. The average salaries of teachers vary widely among the states.

8. The problem of providing adequate educational facilities in the rural areas is very difficult.

9. The phenomenal increase in college enrollments after the Second World War produced some baffling issues by 1950. (See Chapter XX.)

10. Many agencies and activities for adult, extension, and continuation education have recently developed, and a more extensive participation of the Federal government in general education in the states is being advocated.

11. Effort is constantly being made to increase and improve education, in which the American people have deep confidence.

Education is the largest public enterprise in the United States and the country's most important business. More money is invested in the physical plants of education than in any other public undertaking. The public-school property of the country has a valuation of several billions, and several hundred millions are required annually for school buildings. More money is annually spent by the towns, cities, counties, and states for school support than for any other public cause. About four and a third billions were provided for this purpose in 1948. Viewed from the number of people engaged in it, the colossal proportions of public education are apparent. There are nearly a million teachers, and nearly thirty million pupils are enrolled in the various types of schools. If to these are added the thousands of school-board members, janitors, and other employees of the schools, those engaged in preparing schoolbooks, school furniture, school apparatus, and other school supplies, and those engaged in the designing and construction of schoolhouses, two persons out of every seven in the United States are giving practically all their time to this large business.

The principles of American education. This large enterprise, formed and conducted as the best means of promoting the well-being and happiness of the people, is established on the theory that a democratic form of government depends for its value and effectiveness upon a citizenship educated sufficiently to understand and to direct intelligently, efficiently, and with justice all its affairs, private and personal, public and civic. The greater the political freedom of a nation, the greater also is the necessity for the proper education of its people. The people will love and serve that government whose solicitude is for their happiness and whose first great care is their improvement. Through proper education they learn that their obligation is to properly constituted government, which is all its citizens — rich and poor, high and low, strong and feeble, bright and dull.

On this foundation is established the American plan of public education, which has played in the past, still plays, and promises to continue to play in the future such a vital part in the advancement of the American people. This plan arose out of and has been built upon the so-called democratic principles of education which have come to be accepted and are now more or less practically applied in all sections of the entire United States.

Chief among these principles is that of universal education: that schools are an obligation of the state, which should provide equal educational opportunity for all the people. It is now accepted that the state has the right to make this educational provision by means of taxation, and the public support of education is now a fixed principle in all the American states. Taxation on the property of all the people for the free education of all, without regard to their economic condition, is now accepted as a sound and just method of educational support. Another important principle of public education in the United States is that of public control. All forms of public educational work, from the smallest and most remotely isolated rural school to the largest state university, are under direct or indirect public control. Compulsory attendance upon school by children between certain ages is also a principle of public education in the United States, each of which now has compulsory-education legislation. Children within the compulsory-attendance ages must go to school, although by a decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Oregon case in 1925 they cannot be compelled to attend public school. Still another principle is that public education shall be non-sectarian. Religion is not a subject of instruction in the course of study. The various states usually require that no religious or sectarian teachings be given in any schools maintained or aided by public funds, an issue that became acute in the 1940's.

Bitter contests over these principles. Each of these principles of public education was contested in every state, and often rather bitterly, before it finally won acceptance in the public mind and became established in practice. Around each of these principles much controversy waged. Not all of them even now are fully and practically established in every community. How men battled over them and why these principles came so slowly to be accepted are matters for consideration in later chapters; but it should be noted here that faith in these principles and the devotion of the American people to them are exhibited in the long and laborious struggles which they have been willing to wage that these principles might be practically applied. This faith and this devotion are apparent also not only in the present organization, management, and support of schools, but in the effort that is constantly being made to improve the practical arrangements of public education.

Education a state responsibility. The Constitution of the national government makes no mention of education, but by implication in the Tenth Amendment the subject is left to the separate states. Each of these, in its constitution and by legislation, has provided for the organization, administration, and support of a public system of schools which are uniformly free and open alike to all up to the college or the university. Each state thus recognizes its responsibility for the education of its citizens and asserts the right to tax property, within the limits fixed by its constitution or laws, for school support. Numerous decisions of the courts have sustained this position. The states, in their own separate ways, have developed school systems which vary not only in details of organization and administration and in plans of taxation but also in the amount and kind of schooling provided, in educational standards, and in the ability or the willingness to provide schools. Some states acknowledge responsibility for a shorter annual school term than is

acceptable in other states; some consider their educational responsibility met when they provide an elementary education for all; others consider secondary education as a legitimate part of the public-school system. The term "free education" is interpreted in some states to mean not only free tuition but free textbooks and other materials as well. In the main, however, certain characteristics of education are common to all the states. In addition to maintenance by public funds, derived from taxation levied annually or from permanent public educational endowments, it is under public control and is free, nonsectarian, and compulsory. Generally the schools are coeducational. Separate public schools for the sexes are not common. In 1950 separate schools were provided in sixteen states and the District of Columbia for children of the whites and those of the negroes.

Organization and administrative practices. The state is now the chief administrative unit in public education in the United States and is gradually assuming larger control by granting larger financial support. It is assuming wider leadership by accepting more definite responsibility for establishing minimum standards which the smaller educational units, such as the county, the city, the town, the township, or the district must meet. Under authority of its constitution or law each state has established a central administrative organization for the support and direction of its educational arrangements. It has reserved to itself certain powers and it has delegated others to the smaller administrative units. The authority which is thus delegated to the local units varies widely among the states and often among such units within a state, but usually the general state school law regulates the educational practices in the smaller and more local units. It may permit such units to determine how they shall be organized and governed, the kind of school-houses that may be erected, the qualifications of the teachers, the course of study, the length of the school term, and other

matters, but these powers are always subject to certain broad limitations of the state law, the purpose of which is to guide and encourage rather than to restrict the smaller units in their educational effort.

The state department of education. Each of the states administers the public elementary and secondary schools within its borders. This is accomplished by a state department of education, which is composed of a state board of education, a chief state school officer who is known as the state superintendent of public instruction or the state commissioner of education (see Chapter X), and an administrative staff whose members are expected to be specialists in the various fields of educational work. Usually also the state department has business, statistical, and clerical staffs. The state board is composed of a varying number of members, usually from seven to thirteen, who are appointed by the governor, or elected by the people, or serve *ex officio*. In some states the powers of this board are nominal only; in others they are large and extensive. In eight of the states this board selects the chief state school official.

In most of the states this official is elected by the people; in a few he is appointed by the governor. He serves as the executive head of the state school system and is looked upon as the leader of the state department of education. His duties and those of the department of which he is the head are numerous and varied. They relate to the initiation of educational reforms and improvements, to the preparation of courses of study, to the establishment and maintenance of educational standards and of regulations concerning textbooks, the certification of teachers, standards for school buildings, the distribution of state funds for public-school purposes, and to many other matters. Often he serves as a member of important boards of control for state educational institutions, and in some states he has judicial authority.

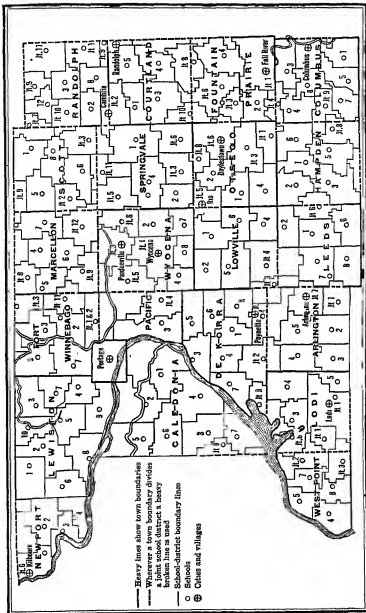
Local units of educational control. Below the state unit and as parts of it are the local units of educational administration: the county, the New England town, the township, the city, and the district, each of which has educational powers delegated by the state through the general school law or by special legislation.

The county. The county, which is a subdivision of each of the states for purposes of local administration, is an important unit for local educational administration. It is perhaps least important as an educational unit in New England; but it is very important in the Western and Southern states, where it serves also as an important unit of civil administration. As a unit of school administration the county has spread rapidly and is now displacing the district system in many of the states. In some of the states city schools come under the administration of the county. Under the county plan of school organization there is a county board of education, elected by the people of the county or appointed by some other authority. There is also a county superintendent of schools, who in most of the states serves as a supervisory official for schools outside of independent cities. In some cases this official also has important executive and administrative responsibilities. In about half the states he is elected by the people of the county in which he serves; in other states he is appointed by the county boards of education or by officials of the state.

The town. Although in many states the county has been made the unit for educational administration, in some of them this unit is still further divided into smaller units for the administration of the public-school system of the state. Among these smaller units are the towns in New England. The town system of school administration includes under one taxation unit and one board of control all the schools in the civil-town unit. This type of school administration originated in Massachusetts and is a peculiarly New England

institution, although the term is also applied to similar units in New Jersey. The area embraced in the town includes not only a natural center, which may be a village or even a small city, but also rural and suburban places. The educational affairs of this unit are under the control of a town school committee which is elected by the people of the entire town. This committee has control of all the schools of the town whether they are city schools, village schools, or rural schools. All towns in Massachusetts and, to some extent, all towns in the other New England states employ superintendents of schools separately or in connection with one or more towns which are more or less contiguous. This official serves in a supervisory capacity and as executive officer of the town school committee or committees under whom he works. In Massachusetts, for example, many of the towns employ a separate superintendent of schools, and some of them often unite and employ such an officer. In some cases two towns will unite; in other cases three, or four, or more. As a rule the New England towns report their educational affairs directly to the state department rather than to some intermediate educational authorities. The town unit of school administration has been substituted in large part for the old district system.

The township. The township comprises an area larger than that of the district and sometimes larger than that of the New England town, but it does not often include large villages or cities. Wherever this unit is found the township is usually also a unit of government in the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges, the control of poor relief, and the management of other civil matters. The township system, somewhat strong in the north-central group of states, is a less effective form of school organization than the present New England town system. Its purpose, however, is to provide for the systematic organization and direction of the educational affairs of an entire township under a



A COUNTY DIVIDED INTO TOWNS AND SCHOOL DISTRICTS

board elected by the people. The township system is regarded as superior to the small school district system.

The city. The city is a special form of school district which is more or less popular in all sections of the United States. It enjoys special powers and privileges in matters of school organization, administration, and support, and although it is a part of the general state educational organization it is nevertheless somewhat independent. It meets the minimum standards of the state, but is given large freedom to exceed those standards. It has peculiar needs and problems and a variety of interests which are not common to the other local units of school administration and because of these conditions it has been able to gain for itself powers which generally are not delegated to smaller and less complicated educational institutions. The interdependencies of city people led them early to appreciate the value of collective action in education as in many other interests, and it is in the cities that educational reforms and improvements first appeared.

The city school systems of the United States now offer the largest opportunities for progressive educational work and leadership. The rapid progress which this country has made in education in recent years has been due in large part to the improvement that the cities have made in the organization, administration, direction, and extension of public educational effort. Probably the best public educational experience of the United States has evolved through the city school system. For the management of its public-school system the city has a separate board which is elected by the people or is appointed by some other authority. This board selects the superintendent of schools, who serves in an executive capacity for the direction of the city's schools. The city school board often has large powers, and the school system of a large modern American city is a large and often somewhat complicated organization.

The small district. The oldest and smallest unit of public-school administration in the United States is the district. It was the original educational organization in New England, where it arose as the natural, most simple, and seemingly most democratic unit. Because it was simple and democratic, the district system spread and became more or less strong in every state. In many states it is even now strongly entrenched, and is especially dominating in the rural areas, where it is a stubborn obstacle to educational progress. The district is under the control of a local board of trustees, or committeemen, who are generally elected by the people of the district or appointed by some larger unit above it. This board is often clothed with large financial and educational powers, and sometimes it enjoys corporate rights. In the earlier days it served useful purposes, and met fairly well the educational needs of the time in which it arose; but its period of usefulness passed, and in the middle of the twentieth century interest in a larger administrative unit was increasing.

Public-school support. Public education is supported in each of the states by state, county, and local funds derived from taxation. In all the states public funds are contributed to the support of public elementary and secondary schools under local administrative control. Public funds are also used in the support of public normal schools and colleges for the preparation of teachers for the elementary and secondary schools; and such funds are used almost exclusively for the support of other types of public educational institutions, such as colleges, universities, agricultural colleges, summer sessions and extension services of colleges and universities, and institutions for physical, mental, and moral defectives.

Variety of sources. The public funds are derived from a variety of sources. In many states in 1950 the principal source is taxation on property. Most of them also have some form

of permanent public educational endowments, which are the oldest form of state aid for public educational work in this country. Every one of the units constituting the Union, except Georgia and the District of Columbia, has one or more such endowments which are intact and genuinely productive, or it maintains a permanent state debt on which the state pays interest for the support of its schools. In some cases, however, so-called permanent school funds are not permanent at all.

Other sources of state school support are state school taxes, a general mill tax on all personal and real taxable property of the state, corporation taxes, severance taxes, income taxes, inheritance taxes, sales taxes, license and privilege taxes, taxes on stocks and bonds, and poll taxes. Often the state may make a direct appropriation of a specified sum for school support from the total revenues collected by it for general state purposes. The methods used by the state in the distribution of its funds for school purposes vary somewhat in detail. Consideration is generally given to the needs and abilities of the local units in an effort to equalize as nearly as possible educational burdens and opportunities. State funds are often distributed also upon the per capita basis of scholastic population, or of enrollment, or of average daily attendance. In nearly all the states in which the county is an important unit for purposes of civil or educational administration it also contributes substantially to school support. In some cases the obligation of the support of a minimum state educational program is placed on the county, and this unit often finances, without any state aid whatever, all the public elementary and secondary schools within its boundary. This is generally the case in the wealthier counties. But in 1938 about 21 per cent of the total receipts for public-school purposes came from state sources. In the main the burden of supporting public schools throughout the United States falls upon and is borne by

local units, including the county. About three fourths of the total costs of public schools comes from local sources, but in some states the tendency is toward increasing state support.

Increasing costs of schools. The cost of public education has increased greatly since 1910, although the educational effects of the depression that began in 1929, discussed in Chapter XVIII, witnessed a reduction in educational expenditures. In 1910 the total current expense, less interest charges, for public education in the United States was about \$356,000,000. This increased to about \$882,000,000 in 1920, and to about \$1,844,000,000 in 1930. In 1932 the figure was \$1,809,000,000; in 1934 it was \$1,515,000,000; in 1936 it was \$1,656,000,000; and in 1948, the latest year for which figures are available, the sum was about \$4,311,000,000. The salaries of teachers increased from \$254,000,000 in 1910, to about \$590,000,000 in 1920, to about \$1,250,000,000 in 1930, and to about \$1,265,000,000 in 1932. In 1934 this item was reported as \$1,067,000,000, in 1936 it was \$1,146,000,000, and in 1948 it was \$2,393,000,000. After 1933 the contest for public taxes became more intense than formerly, under the pressure of increasing demands for appropriations for relief, old-age pensions, and other social services. Notwithstanding the great increase in educational costs, inequalities in education in the United States remain very conspicuous, as the report of the Council of State Governments in 1949 emphasized.

Causes of increased costs. These increases in school costs, which constitute one of the largest problems facing taxpayers today, are due to many causes. In addition to the decreased purchasing power of the dollar, the cost of public education has been greatly increased by the increased number of pupils that have entered the schools and the increase in the cost of practically all school supplies. Between 1940 and 1950 the enrollment of pupils in the public ele-

mentary and secondary schools greatly increased because of increasing birth rates. Meantime, enrollment in the higher educational institutions showed very marked increase also. The increase in enrollment in the schools called for an increase in the number of teachers and a consequent increase in costs for salaries. At the same time, there has been an expansion in the services offered by the schools as well as an increase in supervisory personnel.

Expanded courses of study. Another cause of the increased cost of education is the expansion of the courses of study, which in recent years have undergone many changes. Neither the elementary school nor the high school is today confining its work to the narrow and restricted subjects which were formerly found in these types of schools. The old fundamental subjects have been greatly enlarged. In addition to the fundamental subjects, there may now be found in well-organized and well-conducted elementary schools many of the newer subjects, such as nature study, history, composition and literature, physiology and hygiene, music, art, manual training, home economics, and physical education, some of which require larger and more expensive equipment than was necessary for teaching the old conventional subjects. Moreover, better school buildings are being erected. They are more substantially built and are more nearly adequate for educational purposes and for the health, safety, comfort, and æsthetic development of the children and community.

Expensive administration. Furthermore, educational administration is more expensive now than formerly, on account of both the increased number of pupils and the enlargement of the courses of study. The administration of public education has copied from the management of industrial plants and has drawn to its aid many new educational workers, such as supervisors, assistant superintendents, assistant principals, personnel advisers, psychologists, research

workers, librarians, accountants, secretaries, and the like. Provision of salaries for these specialists has greatly added to the cost of education. The up-to-date and properly administered school system today exhibits an enlarged and somewhat complicated system of administration, especially when it is compared with the simpler arrangements of early days. In such a system may be found the psychologist and his staff of workers, who undertake, through the use of intelligence tests and educational measurements, to indicate more definitely than formerly the progress which each student is making or is failing to make, or to measure each student's fitness to advance from grade to grade, from the elementary school to the high school, and from the high school to college. Modern educational administration also requires numerous reports from teacher to principal, from principal to superintendent, from superintendent to school board and the public, and from the school of the smaller administrative unit to the larger unit of the state. The collection, classification, publication, and use of educational statistics are evidences of the constant effort to understand and to improve public educational work.

Other conditions. The cost of public education has also been increased greatly in recent years by the lengthening of the legal school year, by the extension and more effective enforcement of compulsory-attendance legislation, and by the establishment of systems of pensions for public-school teachers and administrators. Pensions are now provided in many cities and in several of the states. In some places the teachers' retirement fund reaches large amounts. The fuller use of the school plant also adds a new element in public-school expenditures. The schoolhouse of the present is becoming more and more the center for community and neighborhood activities, both social and civil in nature. Societies of all kinds hold their meetings in it, extension courses from the university or agricultural college are con-

ducted in it, and it is often used for numerous community purposes. The public school today belongs more than ever before to and is being used more fully by the entire community. With the enlargement of the function of public education more people are to be educated by a larger number of teachers, in a larger number of subjects, in better and safer houses, under more wholesome conditions, and through a better type of administration and direction.

Types of schools. The public-school system of an American state consists of elementary schools, high schools, normal schools or teachers' colleges, and other forms of higher education, generally including an agricultural and mechanical college and a university. The elementary schools contain more pupils, employ more teachers, and have more money annually expended on them than all other types of public educational institutions within the state. Many states compel attendance on the elementary school until its work is completed, and all of them view an elementary education as the minimum essential for all the people. Kindergartens are also found in some states as parts of the regular public-school system.

The elementary school. In most of the states the work of the elementary school comprises eight grades; in others (chiefly within the Southern area of the United States) it consists of only seven grades. The objectives for the work of these grades generally include the attainment of skill in the fundamental processes of reading, arithmetic, spelling, the graphic arts, and handwriting as preparation for intelligent citizenship, good health, and proper living. An attempt is also made to give the pupils some understanding of industrial processes and of civic organizations in preparation for their proper participation in the social, economic, and political life of the communities in which they are likely to live. Definite courses of study for the elementary grades are generally prepared and published by the state depart-

ments of education under the authority of the school law. In such courses of study each subject to be taught is generally named and described and its objectives are defined, the purpose being to relate the work of each grade to the other grades in a unified way. City school systems generally enjoy a wider measure of freedom in the selection and adaptation of the subjects in the prescribed state courses of study than is allowed other educational units.

The school day in most of the elementary schools is divided into two sessions, one in the morning and one in the afternoon, with usually an intermission of about an hour at noon, the length of the school day being generally defined by law. The children of the first few grades usually attend for a shorter daily period than is required of the older children. The elementary grades, and often the high schools as well, often receive helpful coöperation from the parents of the children through organized clubs and associations of parents and teachers, in the periodic meetings of which the problems of the school and of the home are presented and discussed. It is estimated that a million and a half mothers of school children are enrolled in classes designed for the purpose of studying the abilities and interests of children.

The high school. The development of public high schools in recent years has been a most remarkable phenomenon. Since 1890 the rate of increase of public high-school enrollment has been twenty times greater than the rate of increase in population. Nearly seven million children from all social and economic groups are now enrolled in high schools, which usually give four years of work above the elementary grades. Standards of work done in these schools have been formulated by state departments of education, by colleges and universities, by associations formed voluntarily by the high schools themselves, and by the work of voluntary accrediting agencies, such as the New England College Entrance Certificate Board, the Association of

Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland, the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, and the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools. Many of the high schools prescribe certain subjects which must be successfully completed for graduation, although many of them follow broad policies of allowing comparative freedom in the choice of subjects. A definite number of units in such subjects as English, mathematics, foreign languages, the natural sciences, and the social sciences is usually required. The junior high school, the purpose of which is to give training suitable to children in early adolescence and to facilitate the change from the elementary to the secondary studies, has appeared in comparatively recent years and is attracting wide attention.

Enrollment, attendance, and terms. Of the total enrollment of pupils in public schools of elementary grade about 21 per cent are found in the first grade, 14 per cent in the second, 13 per cent in the third, 13 per cent in the fourth, about 12 per cent in the fifth, about 11 per cent in the sixth, a little more than 9 per cent in the seventh, and about 7 per cent in the eighth. Of the total enrollment in the high-school grades nearly 38 per cent is in the first year, nearly 27 per cent in the second, 20 per cent in the third, and about 15 per cent in the fourth. Although the schools are now holding proportionately more pupils until graduation year than formerly, retardation and elimination and nonattendance are still persistent problems in public educational administration. These are expensive problems also. Waste resulting from irregular attendance costs annually many millions of dollars.

The average number of days all public elementary and secondary schools were in session in the country as a whole in 1948 (the latest year for which official statistics are avail-

able) was about 177.6. The average number of days attended by each pupil enrolled was about 155.1; the average daily attendance of the enrollment was about 87.3 per cent. The facts for the various states and the District of Columbia for 1948 appear in the table on page 20.

In the table on page 21 appear statistics showing the percentage of the total pupil enrollment in high school and the percentage of annual school term not attended in the United States as a whole and in each of the states and the District of Columbia, according to official reports for 1948.

The teachers. As noted at the beginning of this chapter there are in the entire country now almost a million school teachers and administrators. A large portion of these educational workers are women. Most of them are employed in the elementary schools, and many in the more than 75,000 one-teacher schools maintained in 1948. The salaries of the teachers amount to about 75 per cent of the total public expenditure for elementary and secondary schools; but in the institutions of higher grade — colleges, universities, normal schools, and teachers' colleges — this item of cost is somewhat smaller. The lowest salaries are generally found in the small schools in rural communities, and the highest in the largest city systems. As a rule the highest salaries are paid for administrative service, and the lowest for teaching service. Often the salaries in the secondary schools are higher than those in the elementary schools, and this condition frequently moves teachers with special fitness and preparation and perhaps fondness for elementary-school work to accept positions in high schools for which they are not so well qualified. To remove the evils of this practice, a so-called "single salary schedule" — an attempt to base salaries on training, professional improvement, successful experience, and teaching effectiveness — has been adopted in many school systems. The theory of this plan is that teachers with the same qualifications should receive the

STATE	TERM IN DAYS	DAYS ATTENDED BY EACH PUPIL ENROLLED	PERCENTAGE ATTENDANCE OF ENROLLMENT
Average for Continental United States	177.6	155.1	87.3
Alabama	176.3	150.4	85.3
Arizona	171.6	154.9	90.3
Arkansas	169.7	144.8	85.3
California	175.0	161.5	92.3
Colorado	177.3	152.1	85.8
Connecticut	180.6	162.1	89.8
Delaware	178.5	154.9	86.8
District of Columbia	174.6	151.4	86.7
Florida	180.1	163.6	90.8
Georgia	176.1	146.6	83.2
Idaho	171.9	152.7	88.8
Illinois	186.6	162.3	87.0
Indiana	173.7	146.1	84.1
Iowa	177.8	153.8	86.5
Kansas	165.1	136.7	82.5
Kentucky	171.5	142.8	83.3
Louisiana	169.7	149.7	86.3
Maine	179.5	165.8	92.4
Maryland	185.7	163.9	87.9
Massachusetts	178.7	157.6	88.2
Michigan	178.5	161.7	89.8
Minnesota	175.6	151.1	86.3
Mississippi	152.4	133.9	87.8
Missouri	182.2	155.3	85.2
Montana	177.1	157.3	88.8
Nebraska	178.5	158.0	88.5
Nevada	176.7	157.2	88.9
New Hampshire	175.3	160.0	91.3
New Jersey	183.2	160.8	87.8
New Mexico	180.0	143.2	79.6
New York	183.1	159.5	87.1
North Carolina	179.9	159.3	88.5
North Dakota	170.2	152.4	89.9
Ohio	178.9	162.4	90.8
Oklahoma	175.0	153.5	87.7
Oregon	177.6	157.5	88.7
Pennsylvania	183.2	164.6	89.9
Rhode Island	180.0	155.4	86.3
South Carolina	174.9	143.0	81.8
South Dakota	173.5	153.0	88.2
Tennessee	176.5	153.9	87.2
Texas	173.9	146.2	84.1
Utah	175.1	161.6	92.3
Vermont	170.2	161.6	95.0
Virginia	180.0	159.3	88.5
Washington	179.1	146.5	90.0
West Virginia	173.0	155.1	89.7
Wisconsin	178.5	161.5	80.8
Wyoming	164.5	144.5	87.8

STATE	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ENROLLMENT IN HIGH SCHOOL, 1946	PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ENROLLMENT TRANSPORTED AT PUBLIC EXPENSE, 1946
Continental United States	24.1	21.7
Alabama	16.7	36.6
Arizona	20.9	27.2
Arkansas	17.1	33.2
California	25.3	15.1
Colorado	23.6	18.1
Connecticut	27.6	18.6
Delaware	25.0	24.6
District of Columbia	25.2	0.1
Florida	20.9	30.2
Georgia	18.3	27.2
Idaho	26.4	27.2
Illinois	28.2	5.7
Indiana	26.7	35.5
Iowa	24.8	21.9
Kansas	26.3	6.9
Kentucky	16.0	29.5
Louisiana	15.0	36.1
Maine	21.4	27.6
Maryland	21.1	28.6
Massachusetts	28.5	12.2
Michigan	26.7	12.2
Minnesota	26.7	19.5
Mississippi	13.3	36.2
Missouri	23.4	17.7
Montana	26.7	30.5
Nebraska	27.9	2.2
Nevada	23.6	13.9
New Hampshire	27.0	23.3
New Jersey	29.1	15.8
New Mexico	17.2	22.5
New York	31.3	11.1
North Carolina	16.3	37.9
North Dakota	23.9	15.0
Ohio	20.6	25.3
Oklahoma	23.6	26.1
Oregon	26.4	16.9
Pennsylvania	29.0	15.5
Rhode Island	26.1	9.8
South Carolina	19.3	18.3
South Dakota	25.5	8.9
Tennessee	17.2	27.4
Texas	22.3	30.1
Utah	27.4	25.0
Vermont	22.1	15.2
Virginia	21.4	36.4
Washington	24.2	29.8
West Virginia	20.6	34.4
Wisconsin	28.7	10.7
Wyoming	24.8	25.3

same salaries-whether they engage in teaching services in the elementary schools or in the high schools.

Licenses or certificates required. Although emergency certificates were issued during the military crisis in the 1940's, minimum scholastic requirements for beginning teachers were generally maintained. All teachers in public elementary and high schools must hold appropriate licenses, or certificates, which are issued by the state or by some other authority under the general school law. Such certificates usually are issued on examination or on evidence of successful study in normal schools, teachers' colleges, teacher-training classes in high school, or on diplomas or other accepted credentials from institutions of higher learning. Public funds ordinarily are not paid to persons who do not hold legal licenses to teach. The various kinds of certificates are fixed by the general state law or by the regulations of the state department of education under the authority of law. As a rule the power to grant certificates is vested in the state department of education, although some states permit cities and counties to issue certificates.

Age and other requirements. Applicants to teach in the public schools usually must have reached a minimum age and, if required to do so, must furnish evidence of good health and moral character. Some states require teachers to take oaths of loyalty. The teachers must have attained also some definite educational standard. Many states set graduation from high school as the minimum standard; others require, in addition, some professional training. The requirement is often higher for high-school teachers than for teachers in the elementary schools. The tendency is to issue certificates on the basis of a minimum academic and professional training rather than of examinations; and at this time most of the states have eliminated examinations as a method of certifying teachers. Some states, moreover, have begun to issue certificates so as to limit the teachers

in high school to those subjects in which they have had special preparation. Although most of the teachers are fairly well trained and competent, fully half a million of the school children are still being taught by teachers who have not advanced beyond the elementary school, and three millions of them are taught by teachers who have not studied beyond the high school.

Standards for college teachers. Teachers in colleges, universities, teachers' colleges, and normal schools are usually not certificated by the state. Standards for teachers in such institutions are generally set by the institutions themselves or by voluntary accrediting agencies, such as the American Association of Teachers Colleges, the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools, the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland, and the Association of American Universities, which usually require teachers in member institutions to present evidence of appropriate training.

The training of teachers. The professional training of teachers for the public schools of the United States is usually given in normal schools, teachers' colleges, schools of education in colleges and universities, teacher-training classes in connection with high schools, summer schools, and through work done by correspondence and in extension classes. Two years of study above high-school graduation is the commonly accepted standard for the professional training of teachers in the elementary schools. The courses pursued by the prospective teachers during these two years are planned to give them the proper perspective of subject matter and of teaching technique. As already noted, not all teachers attain to these standards. The minimum academic preparation commonly accepted as the standard for prospective high-school teachers is graduation from high

school and from a college, and many colleges have introduced professional courses in education in addition to the subject-matter courses. Again, not all teachers in the high schools have attained to these commonly accepted standards, though the tendency is increasingly toward the maintenance of such standards.

Numerous teacher-training agencies. There are many normal schools and teachers' colleges in the United States, with an enrollment of many scores of thousands of students. In other types of teacher-training agencies, such as colleges and departments of education, there are many thousands of students who are preparing to teach. Approximately 78 per cent of all persons preparing to teach are enrolled in institutions that are under public control. Elementary teachers, as a rule, are prepared principally in normal schools and teachers' colleges; schools of education in colleges and universities confine their efforts in teacher-training work chiefly to the preparation of teachers for the high schools. Many thousands of teachers are studying through extension courses, and tens of thousands of them attend summer sessions every year. In 1949 there were 936,000 students enrolled in summer sessions, 42 per cent of whom were veterans.

Frequent changes in the teaching personnel. Although the agencies and opportunities for the education of teachers are numerous, one of the difficult problems in the public schools of the United States is involved in the frequent changes among the teachers. Many hundreds of the teachers in public elementary and high schools leave the work annually, and the number of those who move from one school to another is even larger. This evil is the result of certain conditions which have developed within the teaching profession. In many states free tuition is granted in normal schools, teachers' colleges, and in schools of education in colleges and universities to persons agreeing to teach in the public schools of the state for a specified but generally brief

period. Many young people who intend to enter other occupations later seek teaching as temporary employment and thus escape the payment of tuition fees for their higher education. In many states also low certification requirements invite numerous persons into teaching who later discover their unfitness for it, but use it as a stepping-stone to other kinds of work. Positions in other occupations often offer larger initial salaries and better opportunities for advancement for beginners than are generally found in teaching. Moreover, the "hire and fire" policy adds to the difficulty of this condition. In some states the governing school authorities are not permitted to make contracts with teachers for more than one year at a time. Only a few of the states have enacted teaching tenure laws providing for a period of probation before permanent appointment. Laws concerning the certification of teachers and enacted by the individual states do not generally recognize reciprocity or cooperation with other states. These conditions, and perhaps others including low salaries, operate against the stability of the teaching profession.

Salaries of teachers. The average annual salaries of all public-school teachers, principals, and supervisors in the country as a whole in 1948, the latest year for which official statistics are available, were \$2639. The average salaries in each of the states and in the District of Columbia appear in the table on page 26.

The rural schools. The task of equalizing educational opportunity in the remotely rural areas of the United States has become increasingly difficult, because of the depletion of rural life and the concentration of population and wealth in the industrial and municipal centers. Several millions of the school children of the United States are in schools in the open country or in rural villages and towns of a thousand or fewer people. It is very difficult to supply these children with adequate instruction in the elementary and sec-

AVERAGE ANNUAL SALARIES OF TEACHERS IN THE UNITED STATES
DURING 1948

Alabama	\$1957	Nebraska	\$1919
Arizona	3136	Nevada	2988
Arkansas	1545	New Hampshire	2355
California	3690	New Jersey	3102
Colorado	2540	New Mexico	2741
Connecticut	3249	New York	3476
Delaware	2642	North Carolina	2114
District of Columbia	3411	North Dakota	1665
Florida	2641	Ohio	2847
Georgia	1724	Oklahoma	2277
Idaho	2239	Oregon	2941
Illinois	3016	Pennsylvania	2597
Indiana	3073	Rhode Island	3105
Iowa	2088	South Carolina	1742
Kansas	2191	South Dakota	1883
Kentucky	1884	Tennessee	1901
Louisiana	2236	Texas	2585
Maine	1767	Utah	2968
Maryland	3321	Vermont	2066
Massachusetts	3103	Virginia	2062
Michigan	3020	Washington	3325
Minnesota	2482	West Virginia	2364
Mississippi	1256	Wisconsin	2560
Missouri	2099	Wyoming	2187
Montana	2582	Average for Continental United States	\$2639

ondary schools. The problem baffles the state and the smaller administrative units. Scores and scores of thousands of these rural children are in old-fashioned, primitive one-teacher schools, which in 1948 numbered more than 75,000. Other scores of thousands of rural children are in two-teacher, three-teacher, and four-teacher schools of the unconsolidated, unprogressive type. Consolidation of these small, weak, ineffective schools and transportation of the children to stronger and better schools offer the only relief. The consolidation movement is gaining and better rural schools are being established rapidly in many of the states. Transportation

items in the annual public-school budgets of the entire country in 1950 called for heavy expenditures. About 5,720,000 children were transported to school by 98,000 motor busses, horse-drawn vehicles, and private conveyances.

Higher education. Above the elementary and secondary schools are more than 1800 colleges, universities, professional and technological schools, and junior colleges, the last of which undertake to offer the first two years of standard college work. Although most of the elementary schools and high schools of the United States are under public control and support, the state does not have a monopoly in higher education. The private and denominational colleges, universities, and professional schools are more numerous than those under public direction. These institutions of higher education receive their support from endowments, private gifts, tuition and other fees of students, and contributions from religious denominations. The public institutions of higher education are supported by revenue from taxation by cities, states, and the national government, by tuition and other fees, by endowments, and by private donations. The state, however, is the largest supporter of higher education under public control.

Educational foundations. Higher education is generously aided also by numerous educational trusts or foundations which developed chiefly after 1900. Among the largest and most influential of these foundations are the General Education Board, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, the Carnegie Institution of Washington, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Russell Sage Foundation, the Commonwealth Fund, the Duke Endowment, and the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation (see Chapter XVII). Approximately a billion dollars of private wealth are represented in these

foundations, and all except about eight millions has been set up since 1900 for purposes of education and public welfare.

Types of higher institutions. Most of the states have at least one university or college under public support and control, some of them have more than one, and each of them has one or more public teachers' colleges or normal schools, or both. In the United States and the dependencies of Alaska, Hawaii, and Porto Rico there are one hundred and five public colleges and universities. Sixty-nine of these are colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts, commonly known as "land-grant colleges"; of this number seventeen, in as many states, are maintained exclusively for negro students. These agricultural colleges were established under legislation enacted by Congress in 1862 "to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life." The Federal government annually appropriates to each state large sums for the support of these colleges and for certain other specified purposes, such as experiment stations and scientific investigations. The total annual appropriations by the national government for these schools were about \$40,000,000 in 1948.

A new problem of higher education. The requirements for admission to the freshman, or entering, class of most of the higher educational institutions, in courses leading to degrees, are usually those attained through the completion of the work given in a standard, accredited four-year high school, or satisfactory evidence of the equivalent of such work. Students are now admitted less than formerly through entrance examinations and more generally upon the certification of the high schools. For a time the tendency was more and more toward the selection of students from among those of the best records in the high schools, but after 1930 competition among the colleges for students increased. The increased college and university attendance has been a

marked tendency since 1920. In 1950 there were nearly twelve times as many college students in proportion to the population of the country as there were half a century before.

Some characteristics of higher education. A period of nine months usually constitutes the academic year in these higher institutions. In most of them this is divided into two semesters or three terms, of about equal length. Some institutions, however, continue operation for the entire year, on the basis of four terms, or quarters; and most of those not on the quarter basis maintain a summer session of one or two terms of six weeks each.

Degrees. The American people have long been degree-minded. In 1950 the higher educational institutions of the United States awarded more than 160 different kinds of degrees in course—creating about 428,000 bachelors, about 62,000 masters, and nearly 7000 doctors. In addition several hundred honorary degrees were conferred. The so-called colleges of liberal arts and sciences are either independent institutions or parts of universities which are generally formed round the college of liberal arts as the central unit. The degree of bachelor of arts, bachelor of science, or some other similar degree is conferred upon those students who complete the four-year course of study of the college. A well-developed and modern university is composed of the college of arts and sciences and of professional schools and a graduate school, each with its own faculty. A bachelor's degree is usually required for admission to the graduate school, which confers advanced degrees—master of arts, master of science, and the doctorate—in arts and sciences and in the other fields of learning. The right to confer degrees is granted to the college or the university in its general laws of incorporation or by special acts. Some states have thrown safeguards around the privilege to confer degrees by establishing well-defined educational and financial requirements for the institutions which are given this power.

Most of the higher educational institutions also confer honorary degrees of numerous varieties. This practice, which is very old in higher education in the United States, has often been criticized as unhealthy, but it also has its supporters.

Technological and professional schools. Technological and professional schools are also numerous in the United States. In addition to the schools and colleges of agriculture and engineering, there are schools of law, of medicine, of dentistry, of pharmacy, of architecture, of journalism, of education, and of other subjects. Many of these schools are parts of the organization of well-developed universities. Voluntary associations throughout the country have undertaken to establish definite standards for accrediting the schools which provide technological and professional education. This action is taken in the interest both of uniformity and of improving standards.

Adult education. The general term "adult education" is used to designate many agencies and activities that provide for voluntary study during the leisure time of those people who are beyond the compulsory school age. One of the first purposes of adult education was the reduction and eradication of adult illiteracy. The national census of 1940 showed nearly five million people ten years of age and above, or approximately 6 per cent of the total population of that age, who could not write in any language. Illiteracy ranged in the various states from 1.1 per cent to nearly 22 per cent. Statistics showed that although illiteracy had been greatly reduced during the past half-century and was being still further reduced, it still remained one of the serious blights on the prosperity and well-being of the American people. It was particularly prevalent in the large cities, and in the rural areas in those states which had a large negro population. In some of these states there was a high percentage of illiteracy among the native-born whites as well as negroes. Illiteracy is being reduced through compulsory educational

laws and a more wholesome attitude toward their enforcement, and by the legally constituted agencies which some of the states are providing to teach adult illiterates. Nearly half the states are aiding adult classes from public funds, and these are also expended for teaching foreign-born illiterates, who are most numerous in the cities. The early voluntary efforts to reduce adult illiteracy proved unsatisfactory, however, and are rapidly being replaced by better-organized and better-supported efforts. In some states evening schools have been made a part of the regular school program.

Extension and continuation education. Other efforts in adult education appear in the university-extension movement, which has developed widely in recent years. Courses by correspondence and in classes away from the institutions are now provided by state universities and colleges and by private institutions. Work done by correspondence is supplemented by talks and instruction over the radio, and the motion picture is used. Some institutions offer by correspondence or extension classes many of the subjects offered in residence. Correspondence schools established and operated for profit are also numerous, Chatauqua and lyceum courses are popular, and schools and classes are conducted by the Young Women's Christian Association, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, and the Young Men's Hebrew Association. The United States Office of Education and the American Library Association are encouraging home study by the preparation of reading courses. Adult education is promoted also by the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, which now has a membership of more than a million people, and the American Association for Adult Education. The organized library serves as an essential part of public educational systems for the encouragement of adult education and continuation study. More than half the people of the United States now

live in areas having access to public-library service. Many states have enacted legislation which permits counties to provide county library service, and in some states this service is provided under general powers.

The national government and education. Although the Federal government has never assumed responsibility for general education in the states, nevertheless it has given direct or indirect aid practically from the beginning. In addition to maintaining the United States Military Academy at West Point, the Naval Academy at Annapolis, and the Coast Guard School, for the training of men for military, naval, and coast-guard service, it participates in many other forms of educational work. The United States Office of Education, maintained under the Federal Security Agency, collects statistics concerning the condition and progress of education in the several states and diffuses them in an effort to promote better school systems and the cause of education throughout the country. It is primarily an agency of educational research and promotion through field service, investigation, surveys, and the dissemination of information. In addition to the public lands given for common schools, universities, agricultural schools, and other educational purposes, the Federal government has given aid under the Smith-Lever Bill of 1914 to the states for instruction and practical demonstrations in agriculture and home economics. It also coöperates with the states in paying the salaries of teachers, supervisors, and directors of agricultural subjects, industrial subjects, trade subjects, and home economics. This work was begun in 1917 under the Smith-Hughes Law, through the Federal Board for Vocational Education. In 1918 the Smith-Sears Vocational Rehabilitation Act was passed to provide for vocational reëducation and the medical, surgical, and mental treatment of soldiers and sailors disabled by the First World War. Three years later, with the passage of the Sheppard-Towner Maternity-Aid Act, the national

government began to aid the states in the promotion of "the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy." Interest in a more extensive participation of the Federal government in general education appeared in legislation brought before Congress in 1941, following the report in 1938 of the President's Advisory Committee on Education. The urgency of national defense in 1940 and 1941 delayed action on this proposed legislation and in early 1950 the crucial religious issue shelved the Federal aid bill.

Efforts to improve education. Although public education—elementary, secondary, higher, and professional—falls short of its ideals and purposes, increased effort is being made by the several states to improve educational facilities and to enlarge the opportunities of the people. Through administrative devices, special, or "opportunity," rooms, and special teachers an attempt is being made to adjust the work of the school to the needs and abilities of the individual students. The scientific study of education is leading to reorganizations of educational arrangements. "School-surveying" is being used as a method of determining points of weakness and points of strength, and more and more are school workers employing approximately scientific measurements of educational results through the use of standard intelligence and educational tests and scales. Moreover, the well-organized and properly directed state school system embraces schools for its inert and unprogressive members—its physical, moral, and mental defectives. There are institutions for the deaf, the blind, and the crippled, for the weak of will, and for truants and incorrigibles. The public is gaining a more humane attitude toward its dependents and defectives and delinquents. Much that is being done for these classes is repair work. But many branches of science are joining hands in a patient effort to solve human problems by examining and facing all the facts which bear upon them.

The outlook. The people of this country are settled in

the conviction that provision for a liberal system of free education for all the people is the state's most important duty. Under this conviction they have assumed larger educational responsibilities than any democracy has ever undertaken before. The magnitude of the task has become almost bewildering. Can this task ever be completely achieved? The future holds the answer. Whatever the ultimate answer, the doctrine of educational equality and the principles of universal, free, public, compulsory, and secular education have already been justified in the diffusion of knowledge and in the moral uplift, the heightened civic virtue, and the improved economic and social conditions of the masses. But not even the most zealous advocates claim perfection for the American school system. Its principles have not yet been practically applied in every community. Its reach still exceeds its grasp. But in the struggles made for American education, even in the lean years that followed the economic crisis of 1929, and during and following the Second World War, there is hope for the future.

The story of those sacrifices and struggles is the major theme of the chapters which follow. But before the story is taken up the next chapter calls attention to some of the values which should come to teachers, school administrators, and the public generally from the historical approach to the subject.

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A "layman and amateur" who wrote a brief essay that so bristled with criticisms of the foibles and pitfalls of contemporary American education as to provoke arguments from professors of education and members of the P.T.A.

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Contains many useful and significant and some disturbing facts on American education about the middle of the twentieth century. Shows how uneven progress has been.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Compare the cost of public education in your county, city, and state with the cost of other public enterprises.

2. Consider the so-called democratic principles of education as they are now accepted in the United States and list arguments for and against each of these principles:

- a. Universal education.
- b. Free education
- c. Public support.
- d. Public control.
- e. Nonsectarian education.
- f. Compulsory education.

3. Find out what you can about the Oregon case (1925), in which the Supreme Court of the United States held that children within compulsory school-attendance ages cannot be compelled to attend *public schools*. Upon what grounds was this decision given?

4. Consider the principle of "free education" What legitimate extensions of public educational effort not now common can the state make?

5. Point out any arguments against coeducation.

6. How is the state board of education in your state constituted? What is an *ex officio* board? What are the arguments against such a board?

7. Give the arguments for and against the election of the chief state school officer by popular vote

8. Why do the cities, as a rule, have better schools than are usually found in rural sections?

9. Account for the stubborn strength of the small school district

10. What are the various sources of public-school support in your state?

11. Add to the conditions given in this chapter as causes of increased school costs any other conditions which you know

12. How can the waste from irregular attendance, nonattendance, retardation, and elimination be checked?

13. Why do the salaries of teachers vary so much among the different states?

14. Account for the instability in the teaching personnel. Indicate a solution of this problem

15. Account for the rapid increase of students in colleges and universities between 1940 and 1950.

16. Give the arguments for and against the work of educational trusts or foundations

17. Point out the social significance of adult education, of the extension movement, and of other such agencies.

18. Why do the public schools provide no religious instruction?

19. What legitimate demands can the state make upon private schools or parochial schools?

20. What inequalities in educational opportunities in the United States were revealed by the Council of State Governments in 1949?

21. What did that report show in regard to the educational needs of the states? in regard to the ability of the states to support adequate schools?

22. What were the major recommendations of the President's Advisory Committee on Education?

23. Trace the progress through the Congress of the legislation proposed as a result of the report of that committee.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION

Outline of the chapter. 1. A knowledge of the history of schools and other educational agencies is an important part of the professional training of the teacher or the school administrator

2. Much of the work of the school is traditional. The nature of the work of the teacher and the school administrator is restrictive and tends to foster prejudices in favor of familiar methods. The history of education is the "sovereign solvent" of educational prejudices.

3. The history of education enables the educational worker to detect fads and frills in whatever form they may appear, and it serves as a necessary preliminary to educational reform.

4. Only in the light of their origin and growth can the numerous educational problems of the present be viewed sympathetically and without bias by the teacher, the school administrator, or the public.

5. The history of education shows how the functions of social institutions shift and how the support and control of education have changed from very simple and local arrangements to those that are now somewhat centralized and complex.

6. The history of education is an ally in the scientific study of education rather than a competitor. It serves to present the educational ideals and standards of other times and it enables social workers to avoid the mistakes of the past

7. It inspires respect for sound scholarship and reverence for great teachers.

The physician or psychologist, called upon to prescribe for physical or mental trouble, is apt to inquire into its cause. "How did it develop or come about?" he is likely to ask. Moreover, one of the most effective ways by which an organism and its function or purpose can be understood appears in a study of its origin and growth. This is true not only in the field of biology and botany but also in those fields which include political and social institutions, such as the state and government, the church, and the school.

Much light may be shed upon the purpose of educational institutions by a study and examination of their origins and development. A knowledge of the history of schools and other agencies of education is therefore an important part of the professional training of the teacher, school administrator, or other educational specialist, who could profitably approach their problems as the physician or the psychologist approaches his.

The conservative character of education. Few activities in American life are more conservative than education, and few are more afflicted by tradition and the dead hands of the past. Much of the work of the school is conventional or traditional. Much of it is being done in the way it is being done, for the most part, because it has been done in that way. Tradition, to a large degree, serves to explain the presence of certain subjects in the course of study. Furthermore, the nature of the teacher's work tends to limit and restrict his ideas to a narrow circle and his professional activities to a few subjects. It tends to foster prejudices in favor of familiar kinds of effort and methods of doing things. The work of teaching usually brings the teacher into contact with minds less mature than his own, and this restrictive influence often results in narrowness. Enlargement of the horizon of thought and experience is the best corrective for the condition of the narrow teacher, who is generally zealous in supporting his particular work and methods and often displays bitterness in defending them. The history of education serves to warn him against the unwillingness to reconsider and to revise his work. The work of the school administrator is limitative, often leading to a narrow view of educational principles and practices. The history of education serves as the "sovereign solvent" of his educational prejudices; it helps to emancipate his thinking about things as they are and to free him and his work from the bondage of tradition.

Education subject to fads. Although quite conservative, few activities of American life have been more subject to exaggerated movements, to waves of opinion, and to fads than education. Scheme after scheme has its day and then is heard of no more. School after school arises. Movement after movement appears. Experiments follow experiments. Old methods, often in new and attractive styles, recommend themselves and become the fashion of the time. Strange theories emerge and then cease to be. The educational worker who has a knowledge of the history of education is able to detect frills in whatever form they appear, and is likely to view the purpose and process of education in a rational manner. He is protected from a narrowness of view, which is zealous and so active in its own behalf.

Some values of the historical approach. A knowledge of the history of education is a necessary preliminary to educational reform and improvement. It leads educational workers to a willingness to reevaluate and perhaps even to change their theories and practices in the light of the past, and to take broad and liberal views of educational questions when new needs are to be met and progressive educational policies are to be shaped. It helps to give perspective to education and makes for open-mindedness in teaching. It leads also to a more exalted ideal of the teacher's work. By increasing his knowledge of the history of his occupation it develops his desire for higher personal effectiveness and heightens his sense of the dignity and importance of teaching in its relations to the improvement of individuals, of society, and to the advancement of learning.

Knowledge of the origin of the school not only helps the teacher and the administrator to understand its function and purpose, but is useful also to the layman, to parents, and to the public generally. When the public knows the school better, indifference or hostility to extensions of its efforts will decrease or disappear entirely. The public will

then believe in it more thoroughly and support it more fully and intelligently. A fuller knowledge of the origin and purpose of the school would alter even the taxpayer's attitude toward education and liberalize his views toward its problems.

Educational problems numerous. Educational problems are more numerous than ever before in history. Formerly they were few and simple, but now they are many and complex. And not all educational "problems" appear in the catalogue descriptions of courses in teachers' colleges, normal schools, and schools of education, though there is significance in the increasing efforts of these institutions to help teachers, principals, supervisors, superintendents, and the so-called educational expert to meet the difficulties of practical educational conditions. Nor are all these difficulties in the path of active school workers. Parents are themselves becoming conscious of them; and the public is thinking and talking more and more of school finance, of school organization and administration, of the curriculum, of vocational guidance, and of a multitude of other problems which demand solution. Many of these problems of modern education, if not all, are historical, though some are naturally older and more stubborn than others. Only in the light of their origin and growth, however, can they be viewed sympathetically and without prejudice or bias by the teacher, the administrator, or the public.

The shifting of functions. The historical study of education shows the marked tendency toward the shifting of the functions of present-day institutions. Formerly the family performed almost all the services for the individual; today the state, through its various agencies, performs most or many of the functions which the family or a very small neighborhood group performed in earlier times. Education was once the exclusive function of the family or of the church; today it is a function of the state, which also looks

after the health of the individual, inspects his food, furnishes him amusement and recreation, throws safeguards round his life and property, protects his investments, aids him to get employment, insures his life, and pensions his widow. The school also has assumed many of the duties that once engaged the attention of the family. It undertakes to teach manners and morals, once the peculiar obligation of home and family and church. Much of the practical education formerly given in the home has now become one of the tasks of the school. As functions which formerly belonged to one institution shift or are shifted to another, new educational problems arise. It is this social phenomenon that makes the school of today different from the school of the past. Its tasks are different. Those who are charged with the responsibility of meeting those tasks can do so intelligently and effectively only by a knowledge of their origin and the conditions of their growth.

New questions. Many thoughtful people today seriously question the ability of the American states to continue to finance their present educational arrangements. Many doubt the ability of the public to provide for additional forms of educational effort. Many questions arise concerning education. Can the period of compulsory attendance upon schools be extended? Can provision be made for adult education? How far can the state safely go in ministering to its inert and unprogressive members? Can it afford to give its citizens professional training in the law, medicine, dentistry, pharmacy, agriculture, and architecture? Must the national government come to the aid of general education in the various states?

These and other questions acquire meaning and can be understood only in the light of the conditions out of which they arise. The enormous financial burdens which education has created, rising to nearly three billions annually, have mounted as a result of changing political, social, and

economic conditions which must be understood before the burdens themselves can be viewed intelligently or justified by the public. The purchasing power of the dollar has decreased. School enrollment and attendance have increased, calling for more teachers and equipment. Attendance has greatly increased in secondary schools, and the per capita cost of maintaining these is double that of the maintenance of elementary schools. Better school buildings have been erected and equipped, and newer, special, and often more expensive subjects have been added to the curriculum. Formerly the support of schools was a local and simple matter; today it is a problem of large proportions, and can be understood and solved only in the light of its history.

Localism and centralization. The management of education is a similar story. Local communities which formerly had schools or not, as they wished, are now forced by state constitution or statute to maintain schools of standards specified by the state. Often these communities are now heard to complain bitterly at some educational requirement imposed upon them by a larger administrative unit, such as the county or the state. A result is that state departments of education are frequently charged with autocracy and tyranny, and are often described as gluttons for power. Teachers chafe under the license or certification requirements imposed upon them by superior authorities whose whip hand is the pay check and the control of the tenure of teaching positions. These conditions can be understood only in the light of their development.

There are protests by localities against state curriculum and building standards, which sometimes are said to work hardships if not injustice upon smaller and weaker units. Formerly these units determined their own local educational arrangements. They fixed the length of their own school term, they passed upon the qualifications of their own teachers, they decided on the type of schoolhouse and built

it without let or hindrance and often without aid from township, county, or state. The requirements for teachers were simple and simply met, often varying from locality to locality. If the teachers were orthodox in the religion of the community and bore a certificate of good moral character, they were acceptable. Educational qualifications were minor considerations. The localities also approved the subjects taught in the schools. They knew no compulsory-attendance or child-labor regulations. Localism was the rule. The school was a primitive neighborhood arrangement which seemed democratic and was therefore in high favor. It was natural that encroachments by larger units should have been resisted by the neighborhood and school district in their early days, and it is not unnatural that even now such encroachments should be resisted.

The tendency to centralization. Today these and other features of public educational work are regulated more or less by the state as the authoritative unit of school administration. Gradually the state has gained more and more control over local educational arrangements until "state school systems" have become a commonly accepted term in educational phraseology. The state now determines the length of the minimum school term, it prescribes the kind of schoolhouses that may be built, and it determines the educational qualifications of teachers. It may require them to show evidence of successful vaccination and of freedom from tuberculosis. It even attempts to require teachers to believe the Mosaic explanation of the origin of the earth and of man. The state prescribes and enforces the attendance of children at school and prohibits them from working between certain ages and in certain occupations. Generally also the course of study is fixed by state statute. In these and other ways the state has assumed a highly centralized control over matters that were once accepted as local educational functions. All these developments have been made

on the background of the past; therefore the historical approach is an effective aid to an understanding of them.

History also an aid to science. Even the highly esteemed scientific method, with which the present educational age is feverish, sooner or later calls for the aid of history in the treatment of educational and other social ills. Educational magic and wizardry are found to be insufficient. Statistical data and imposing tables and graphs, though immensely valuable, are often impotent in the face of certain chronic educational diseases. Before the remedies can be found the inevitable question arises: How did these conditions develop?

The history of education is an ally of science rather than a competitor. It establishes the right of the past to be heard in the discussions of the problems of the present. It enlarges the understanding of those who are held responsible for the solution of educational problems. Its proper presentation removes the cloud of suspicion that it is a pretender in the field of teacher-training. To be successful, educational arrangements must be practical enough for an age that is busy with experimentation, the use of the statistical method, and the restless and ceaseless questioning of human nature. By forcing theorists and practitioners to face the stubbornness of facts, history can perform for education — in an age still marked by an embarrassing lack of a positive science of the subject — a service which education cannot perform for itself.

To avoid mistakes of the past. The history of education enables teachers, school administrators, and governing authorities to avoid the educational mistakes of the past; it develops and broadens the cultural interests of workers in education; it helps to focus the information and knowledge of other subjects on the work of the teacher; it serves to present ideals and standards of educational work of other times, and thus serves as a guide for the practical work of the teacher and administrator today.

The history of civilization. The history of education is in large part the history of civilization. It is the history of changing ideals, the story of the conscious and unconscious means used for the advancement of public well-being. The height of a civilization may be measured by its attitude toward child life; its effectiveness, by the extent to which social and humanitarian factors have influenced the masses of the people. It has long been manifest that the validity and the security of democratic civilizations depend upon the proper education and training of the masses. If ignorance and superstition, those twin pillars of priestcraft and demagogism, stalk in the life of a state or civilization, social or political convulsions are encouraged, and governments perish from their own limitations. The destiny of a democratic society is determined by and depends upon the increase and diffusion of knowledge and culture among the people. The influence of education upon national welfare is therefore not merely an academic subject for the professional reformer and the professor at large. The history of education exhibits evidence that whatever the teacher and school would make effective in the life of a community or state they must first make effective in the lives of the children they teach. This is no discovery of recent times. The greatest thinkers of the world knew it, and American teachers need to learn it. Plato and Aristotle noted it in their treatises on political philosophy, and despaired of the stability of states without education.

Respect for scholarship. The history of education teaches that learning has larger responsibilities than those it owes to itself; that scholarship for its own sake is not sufficient. It teaches that willful blindness to the needs of his time is an overt breach of the teacher's duty. It inspires respect for sound scholarship and is an effective answer to the baleful argument that great scholars are not great teachers, which is often perhaps a subtle argument for a cheerful educational

indolence. The history of education illustrates the truth that a teacher cannot give to another what he does not himself possess; and that the test of his work is that it endures. It shows that the influence of an Abelard, an Arnold, a Mann, or an Eliot outlives that of any king, potentate, politician, or military leader of his age.

Reverence for teaching. From history come also to the teacher and the school worker today lofty views of education. In the history of education the ideal of the teacher's work is exalted. Through it come high and worthy motives for cherishing and defending all education that is thorough and excellent. The history of education is in large part the biography of great men, masters of the teaching art, and great leaders of educational reform. A knowledge of it develops reverence for the living words of the dead. Contact with great teachers of the past stimulates the teachers of the present and the future. It increases respect for sound and disciplined learning and enlarges the desire for excellence in their own work.

In the following chapters the history of education in the United States is traced in an effort to explain the system described in Chapter I. Inasmuch, however, as the theories and practices of the early period can be understood only in the light of European antecedents and influences, attention must first be given to the background of education in this country during the colonial period, which is the subject of Chapter III.

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QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Consider some of the stubborn educational problems in your state. Show how a knowledge of the history of its educational development is an aid in the solution of those problems.

2. The history of education has been defined as "essentially a phase of the history of civilization." It has been looked upon as a record of educational theories and as a record of actual educational practices, or of both. Consider these definitions of the subject, and prepare to discuss a definition of your own.

3. Consider some of the social, political, and economic facts of history which have had influence on educational theory and practice in the United States.

4. Make a list of the ways in which a knowledge of the history of education is valuable to the teacher, to the school administrator, to parents, and to governing authority (members of legislatures and of state and local boards of education).

5. Illustrate the statement that the history of education "is in large part the biography of great teachers," and show how a knowledge of it develops reverence for them

6. Consider any fads or frills which have appeared in American education in recent years, and account for their appearance.

7. Most of the states continue to elect their chief school officers by popular vote, but the presidents of public colleges and universities are not elected by such means. Give the historical explanation of this condition.

8. Give any example that you can think of in which a knowledge of the history of education may enable educational authorities to avoid a mistake of the past.

9. How does the history of Federal aid for general education, widely discussed, and in 1938 recommended by the President's Advisory Committee on Education, and in 1950 shelved, help to explain the long delay in provision by the Congress for such aid?

10. Why does this country not have a national university, the importance of which has long been urged upon the Congress?

11. Explain historically why education is not represented by a secretary in the cabinet of the President of the United States

12. Try to explain historically the significance of the NYA and the CCC and the GI Bill of Rights.

13. What effect did the work of the schools in the interest of national defense in the 1940's have on education in the United States?

CHAPTER III

THE BACKGROUND

Outline of the chapter. 1. The principles of public education are now generally accepted, but they can be understood only in the light of their origin and growth.

2. Economic, political, and religious conditions in England just before and during the period of colonization were disquieting, and they help to explain England's motive for colonization and the incentive which led people to become colonists. Colonial expansion was a pressing necessity for England in the seventeenth century.

3. The desire for religious and political freedom was doubtless real in a measure among some of the colonists, but the desire to escape from economic bondage made strong appeal to most of them.

4. The force of economic interest was strong, and the economic purpose of colonization and settlement was a potent element in the institutional development of the colonies.

5. English theory and practice in education were transplanted in large part to the American colonies.

As pointed out in Chapter I, education is today one of the largest public enterprises in the United States — perhaps the dominating public interest of the American people, who annually expend from sources of taxation hundreds of millions of dollars in its support and employ thousands of men and women in its management and direction. It was also pointed out there that although the so-called democratic principles of education are now generally accepted in this country, and public-school systems more or less practically established in all the states, these achievements have been made only through severe struggles. The way of the public school has been long and toilsome, often beset by most stubborn and discouraging difficulties. Even now the way toward further extensions of what may seem to be legitimate

public educational effort is difficult. As one views the difficulties which have embarrassed the way of public educational development in the United States, one wonders not that public schools came to be established in this country in the nineteenth century and that the so-called democratic doctrine of education came to be accepted by the end of that century, but, considering the backgrounds of their past and the conditions out of which they developed, that such schools and such a theory could be established and accepted at all.

The historical approach. The theory of the equality of public educational opportunity, now so often proudly pointed to as a guiding principle in American life, gained its present place in the United States only after many bitter struggles. These struggles over the American principles of education were waged between the forces of aristocracy, vested privileges and interests, property rights, and conservatism on the one hand, and the forces of democracy, human rights, and liberalism on the other. Between such forces they are still waged even now, here and there in the United States. Out of these conflicts, whose roots reach back into the past, have emerged and are still emerging the theories and practices of American education today. And these can be understood only in the light of their origin and growth.

England at the time of American colonization. The American colonies, which were essentially English in origin, were established during the seventeenth century. The reign of Queen Elizabeth (1558-1603) had been rather remarkable for exploration and expedition, and during this period attempts were made to settle America. But it was during the reign of James I and the succeeding Stuarts, who left a record for autocracy and tyranny, that successful settlement and colonization were made in what is now the United States. Of the thirteen colonies which gained political independence from England in the late eighteenth century,

all except one (Georgia, 1732) were established between 1607, when the plantation of Virginia was begun, and 1682, when Pennsylvania was founded.

The beginnings of this country, which started as tiny settlements, were made during a romantic period and under conditions which required energy and heroism for those who had part in the undertakings. Adventure and suffering marked the enterprise of colonization and settlement. William Bradford noted, in his account of the Plymouth Plantation, that they were too delicate and unfit to become colonists who could not endure the bite of a mosquito. These early settlements were made by small groups of adventurers after many losses and discouragements, and at great expense to merchants and noblemen who sank large sums in the expeditions, probably without receiving any substantial returns for their efforts. Fully half the seventeenth century had passed before the English colonies became an appreciable asset to the mother government.

Sturdy seamen and buccaneers of the Elizabethan period had led the way. But the colonial settlements were actually made through merchants and capitalists who, ambitious for profit for themselves or prestige for their country, saw in the New World opportunities for wealth and power. Doubtless the desire for religious and political freedom moved men to risk their lives over dangerous seas in an effort to reach a world that was unknown but in a measure promising. But the beginnings of the United States were made primarily for purposes of commerce. In colonization the spirit of trade was a powerful motive.

Colonial expansion necessary. Colonial expansion had become an economic necessity for England in the seventeenth century. Her greatest need was the restoration of her industrial life. Her forests, one of the most important of her natural resources, had become depleted, and the shortage of shipbuilding material was having an alarming effect

upon England's merchant marine. The country was overrun with idle and hungry people, and it was believed that the surplus population would readily flow into colonies if these could be planted. Her writers were urging the necessity for colonies as a means of securing economic independence. Only this way lay national security. England's trade was the mother and nurse of her seamen, says Lord Haversham, her seamen the life of her fleet, which was the security of her trade, and fleet and trade were her wealth, her strength, and her glory. England turned to America as the hope of her safety.

These conditions gave meaning to the organization of the London Company, and its efforts to establish colonies in America assumed the character of a crusade. The plan appealed to patriotic Englishmen, who hoped to have a hand in the restoration of the industrial life of their country. The settlement of Jamestown was the result, therefore, not altogether of a selfish and private venture but of years of endeavor and perhaps of patriotic pleading with the English public to help break the economic bonds which were so rapidly closing on the little island. True, England wished to limit the growing domains of Spain in the New World, then monopolized by that country and Portugal, which had seized the richest parts of the prize Columbus had won. But this motive of England was economic.

The people of England at the time of colonization was made up of two classes. The self-supporting or independent class was composed of the nobility, the higher clergy, knights, country gentlemen, lawyers, the lesser clergy, freeholders and farmers, shopkeepers and tradesmen, artisans and craftsmen; the dependent class consisted of journeymen, apprentices, vagrants, and "thieves and sturdy beggars," whose employment, wages, and movement from place to place were generally determined by the independent class. At the accession of James I half the population of England

was dependent, and probably looked upon the independent as highly favored if not as superior beings.

The dangers of pauperism. This condition was the result of certain social and economic changes which had modified the structure of English life before the seventeenth century. One of these influences developed out of the change from the medieval to the more modern land and agricultural system. Much poverty and vagabondage followed inclosures and sheep-raising and the consequent eviction of tenants who had made a living at farming. For many years after the Black Death, which caused a scarcity of labor, the wool industry came to be very important. The price of wool increased rapidly, and by the beginning of the sixteenth century sheep-raising had become a far more profitable industry than farming had been; it also demanded fewer laborers. More and more landowners turned their attention to this industry. Vast areas which had hitherto been used for tillage and which had furnished work for many laborers were made into sheep pastures, and many people whose livelihood had hitherto depended upon arable farming were thrown out of employment. England was forced to establish colonies as means of relief from the persistent dangers of pauperism.

Those who had land or sufficient money to rent and stock land with sheep grew prosperous. But the poorer people were dispossessed and made helpless and inefficient under the new industrial system. Some of the farmers were got rid of by fraud or force. Eviction was often resorted to when other means failed. Many evicted farmers were reduced to a condition of pauperism and vagabondage and were forced to beg or steal for a living. Whole families were often driven to a life of vagrancy. The number of the poor and dependents increased, and their economic condition grew more and more intolerable. There was evidence of social unrest. The wrongs of the poor and unfortunate found

indignant expression in the literature of the period, which was often full of protests against the evils of inclosures and the depletion of the rural communities.

Hard times were increased also by the destruction of the great bands of retainers, who had been lawless elements throughout the period of feudal power. Feudal armies had greatly impoverished many rural sections during the Wars of the Roses between the houses of Lancaster and York (1455-1485). During the peace of the Tudor period numerous retainers, without wages, had become marauders under the protection of their lords, and stole for a living. A law had been passed against them near the close of the fifteenth century, and as they were dismissed from the protection of their masters they became capable rogues and vagabonds and a menacing problem for the government.

The problem of the poor and of unemployment had grown very vexatious. Opportunities for work in corporate towns were decreased by the exclusive policy pursued by the guilds. Moreover, the kingdom was burdened with Henry VIII's taxation. He also debased the coinage, and the prices of necessary commodities doubled and often trebled without any corresponding advance in wages. The hard way of the poor thus became harder. The needy increased in great numbers. Meanwhile the usual means of poor relief were constantly decreasing. Even the guilds found it difficult to make provision for their sick and dependent.

Sources of relief cut off. The dissolution of the monasteries, those sure sources of definite comfort and relief, added to the miseries of the poor, the needy, and the vagrant. Henry VIII viewed these institutions as dangerous to his new ecclesiastical order. Although the monastic authorities seemed to appear obedient, it was feared that they did not approve the drastic measures Henry VIII had used to terminate the power of the Pope in England. Moreover, many of the monasteries were wealthy. They held extensive

landed estates which the king coveted. It was alleged also that there were evidences of corruption and of evil living in the monasteries, and they were suspected of immoral and irreligious motives. Action by the king seemed warranted, and in 1536 Parliament suppressed nearly four hundred of the monasteries which had an annual income of less than £200. Three years later the larger ones were confiscated also and their possessions added to the revenues of the crown. In a few years monasticism, which had so long served as a means of relief to the poor and otherwise unfortunate, practically disappeared from England.

Distressing results. Finally, the Chantries Act of 1547 completed the royal confiscation and destruction of religious endowments. Many guilds had set apart funds for charitable purposes. Some of these endowments supported priests, provided loans without interest to poor guild members, supported members who were sick and infirm, cared for widows and orphans, and in many ways provided for the underprivileged. The confiscation of these means of charity, like the destruction of the monasteries, added fresh hardships to the lot of the poor. Aimless wanderers and vagrants multiplied.

But these classes of dependents were not reproached for their condition. The long practice of indiscriminate charity had respectabilized and almost dignified their ways of existence and had increased the number of the idle poor. The practice of the "open house," kept alike by clergy and baron; the mendicant practices of the wandering friars and other religious orders; the habits of the wandering scholars and their "ABC shooters" and of the pious pilgrim who begged his way from shrine to shrine, — all these customs and practices had served to encourage a class of beggars whose habits of life had acquired a degree of respectability. The beggars were of many kinds. A contemporary account gave two dozen varieties. They ranged from the impotent poor to

the Abraham-man who, like the fool in "King Lear," feigned lunacy and begged "charity for poor Tom" in the hope of securing aid from the passers-by.

Political conditions. During the first forty years of the seventeenth century — the century of American colonization and settlement — the government of England was autocratic and tyrannical. The claims of the monarchy were more exorbitant perhaps than at any other time in English history. The people were not even allowed to question any of the many rights of the kings. The "divine right" of the rulers was accepted not only by those in authority but also by those under authority. The theory of divine right was almost a reality in the lives of all English subjects. But there were now and then some bitter contests between the king and Parliament, and the latter slowly gained a slightly larger participation in the government. Those who sympathized with Parliament relied for their cause more and more upon what came to be known as "the ancient rights and liberties of the people." Parliament appealed, through the Petition of Right (1628), to the guaranties of the Great Charter, which had been wrested from King John at Runnymede in 1215 and to other declarations of personal liberties. In 1641, the Grand Remonstrance contained such expressions as "the people," "the rights of the people," "the liberties of subjects"; and finally many rights and privileges of the people were incorporated in the Bill of Rights in 1689.

It was during these contests of the people with their rulers that American colonization was progressing. Out of these struggles emerged certain ideas of civil liberty, and these, vague and indistinct as some of them may have been, were brought by the colonists to the New World. For the most part these colonists were not of strong royalist spirit. They were generally those people who were not on comfortable terms with the king but favored the views of Parliament.

And yet even among the colonists there was not complete agreement on political matters. Strong as their interest may have been in self-government, the differences of the political views they had held in the Old World were naturally transplanted in the New.

Religious conditions. Before England became a colonizing nation the power of the Church had been questioned. The English Humanists had turned their attention to an examination of the teachings of the Church and indicated the need for religious reform. The right of interference by the Pope was boldly questioned. There was slowly developing also in the minds of the laity the desire that individuals should be free in their religious life instead of being made to obey blindly an ecclesiastical authority. Although the efforts of those in England who would reform the Church were not altogether fruitless, real religious changes came finally after the revolt which was led by Martin Luther in the early part of the sixteenth century.

When England became a colonizing nation, in the early part of the seventeenth century, there were at least four well-defined religious parties in that country. There were the members of the Established Church, which was the official state church. At the beginning of the seventeenth century this had been for a generation the only religious system in authority in England, and through the law of the land and the support of patriotic feeling it was strongly intrenched. A second religious party was the Roman Catholics, who held allegiance to the Pope as their earthly head. Even after Henry VIII had attacked the supremacy of the Pope and the practice of the Roman Catholic Church and had established the Church of England, the Roman Catholics in England had remained faithful to Rome in spite of frequent rigorous applications of harsh laws against them.

The Puritans constituted another religious class. They at first protested against certain ceremonies and the for-

malism of the English Church, which they believed was drifting toward Roman Catholicism, but later they turned from these considerations to more vital matters of morals. The Separatists, or Independents, who believed in the independence of each local congregation of believers and to whom the idea of a state church seemed idolatrous, formed another religious party. Self-control, plainness in dress, sincerity and honesty of speech, and complete faith in the Bible are said to have characterized the manner and belief of the Puritans and especially of the Separatists. A little group of the latter, encountering harsh persecutions at home, hastened to Holland and a decade later to Plymouth, Massachusetts. They were called Pilgrims because of the manner of their moving. *Vocantur patres, et saepe sunt*, though most of them were under the age of forty.

During the personal government of Charles I, from 1629 to 1640, there were no sessions of Parliament. The administration of affairs was mainly in the hands of the Star Chamber, the High Commission, and the Privy Council. These powerful instruments were in sympathy with the Established Church. The Puritans and other dissenting sects were greatly oppressed and persecuted. During this period and under these conditions of religious intolerance large Puritan migrations to America were made, and nearly twenty thousand adventurers found their way to New England.

The motives of the settlers. It was out of these economic, political, and religious conditions that many of the early colonists came. In these conditions are to be found also the incentives which led Englishmen to come to the New World. Certainly there was desire among some of them for larger political rights than they were allowed in England. It is not unreasonable to believe also that some of them desired the opportunity for larger religious freedom than they or their fathers had enjoyed before or after the days of Henry VIII. The "religious liberty" doctrine, sanctified

by Bradford, the amazing historian of the Pilgrims, has been repeated, added to, and supported by scores of others since his time. It was doubtless more than a fiction among those who have taught that this country was divinely selected as the home of those who had been persecuted in Europe for their religious beliefs. Certainly it was but natural also that men, even in the seventeenth century and in the American colonies, should desire to worship as they saw fit, even though they were often unwilling for others to enjoy the same privilege.

It should not be forgotten, however, that when these same people, whose ways Bradford records, clashed with the Church of England and fled to Holland they were sorely grieved because, among other things, they could eke out a living only by the heaviest manual labor of long and tedious hours. The hardness of Holland was such, says Bradford, that few of their fellows in England would join them and fewer still would continue with them. True, their children were oppressed and were becoming Dutch in speech and ideas, and they themselves through grinding toil were growing old and decrepit before their time. But there is some significance in the fact that the economic condition of this little Scrooby group had not improved after ten or more years in Holland. At the end of that time they were without sufficient money to finance the voyage to Virginia, in which they applied for a grant in the early months of 1620. They were forced to enter into an agreement with London merchants for the means of the expedition, and these drove a hard bargain. As a guaranty the Pilgrims agreed to a bondage of seven years' collective labor, the fruits of which were to be shared in common.

The Puritans doubtless craved a place where religious liberty would be more secure than in England during the despotic and disquieting reign of Charles I. They and others who during these years left their old homes in England for

new ones in America probably hoped for a place where political liberty would in a measure also be granted to them. But many of those who preferred the uncertainties of an ocean voyage and of life in a strange land to the many religious and political disadvantages in their own country must have viewed as particularly attractive the reported opportunities which the New World offered the underprivileged to escape from economic bondage.

After Charles I had lost his head — to the satisfaction of a small group of extremists — the zealot Cromwell led a compact army which, with prayers and psalms upon their lips, advanced upon their enemies, especially those of Roman Catholic persuasion. Those who supported the crown, the aristocracy, and the Established Church now found it comfortable to leave. Many of that political faction in England which cheered for the cause of Charles migrated to Virginia. There fertile land, the mildness of the climate, and the magic of the Indian plant, tobacco, opened the doors of opportunity wide to the enterprising and industrious colonists. Many of them soon gained economic strength and through it political and social power and prestige, and acquired the name of Cavaliers, which they graciously gave to their children.

The force of economic interest. Although the colonizing ventures were in large part commercial undertakings, England also wished to extend the influence of the Established Church and to bring the heathen Indians from darkness to light. To propagate the gospel, to preach, to "baptize into the Christian religion," and to snatch "out of the arms of the devil a number of poor and miserable souls wrapt up unto death in almost invincible ignorance," were the first great care of Virginians, says John Smith. The officers of the London Company made an effort to establish religious habits in the colony, and indicated in their advertisements for colonists their desire to have those of correct religious manner. Here, no less than in the colonies of New England,

those of pious and devout faith in the orthodox manner of life would be less troublesome to the authorities and also make more dependable and sober workers. These were important motives, but they were not so significant alongside the pressing need for national expansion and economic independence.

So deep was this purpose of colonization that economic forces of one kind and another were to underlie much of the social and educational development of the future in those states which grew out of the tiny settlements made along the Atlantic coast in the seventeenth century. Perhaps the desire for religious and political freedom was real among not a few of the early settlers in America, and it commands admiration. But the chance which the New World offered to live under less economic pressure and anxiety must have made a strong appeal to the masses of those who came. Moreover, if the desire for religious and political freedom had been very strong among many of the colonists, religious intolerance and political restrictions, those twin difficulties in the way of public schools, could not have become and remained so fashionable.

Tobacco was the key that opened the door of opportunity in Virginia in the seventeenth century and most of the eighteenth. It determined the character of life; it helped, as perhaps did no other single force, to mold social classes and the political structure of the colony; it developed a system of labor which held until the Civil War; and it influenced religion, morals, and education. Men maddened in Virginia over the thought of tobacco, and won wealth through its growth. Economic factors were determining influences in the other colonies as well; they had deep effect upon their life, their government, and their social development. Within a few years most of the colonists, especially those who gained authority, were in better economic condition than they had enjoyed in England. Merchants grew prosperous in New

England and the middle colonies and plumed themselves as gentlemen, as prosperous men were in the habit of doing in England. They directed the economic life, and from land and sea, through industry and thrift, accumulated fortunes.

The influence of slavery. In all the colonies slavery was looked upon as respectable and proper, and was made use of so long as it seemed profitable. The Baltimores in Maryland sought to entice emigrants by praising the climate and the soil, after the fashion of real-estate dealers today, and hinted at the opportunity to make much profit out of indentured servants. The wealthy Penn offered five-thousand-acre lots at a fixed price to large investors and fifty acres additional for each indentured servant whom they would bring, though natural conditions served as obstacles to prevent Pennsylvania from becoming a semifeudal domain such as Virginia and Maryland. Georgia opened its doors to all except Roman Catholics, and forbade slavery and the sale of rum; but most of the colonists, seeing how men prospered in South Carolina through the labor of slaves, soon came to demand slaves and rum and greater economic freedom by which they could buy and sell land. All three privileges were soon gained, plantations developed, slaves multiplied, and Georgia became, like her Southern sisters, a region in which economic gain was to give direction to the course of political and social life for many years to come.

Whether the American settlements were begun as religious or political havens or as the enterprises of commercial organizations or of rich and powerful individuals, or grew out of the dream of philanthropy, all of them soon took a decided economic turn, and the force of economic interest became and remained powerful. The road to influence lay in wealth, though the many glowing accounts of the New World appealed to many classes: to the patriotic, who would promote the power of England; to the pious, who would propagate the Christian faith among the heathen;

to the impatient and restless; to the adventurous; to those of straitened economic circumstances and restricted social conditions; to those who desired land and the position of gentlemen; and to others to whom the avenues of advancement were closed at home. In the New World they saw new opportunities.

England's theory of education. The dominating influences in England during the American colonial period and even later were aristocratic. The common belief that the masses of the people were born to obey and not to govern fixed the social position of unborn generations. So strong was this belief and so well was its meaning taught and understood that the simple and humble people looked upon the privileged as superior beings. In effect the distinction between the high and the low was real and absolute. Those in authority were zealous in their efforts to preserve class distinctions, which were never suitable soil in which to plant and grow common or public schools.

It was important for the governing authority to keep the poor in ignorance. Learning among the masses would threaten the established order and lead to disobedience. This was probably the view of most of the American colonists, if they had views on the matter at all. Governor Berkeley of Virginia, in his remarkable reply to the authorities in England in 1671, thanked God that there were no free schools and no printing presses in that province, and hoped that there would be none for a hundred years. "Learning," he said, "has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both!" It should be remembered, however, that the testy governor had many years before sanctioned bequests for schools in Virginia when he approved the act which incorporated the Symms School. It was this theory that retarded the growth of public education in England and delayed its development

in the United States. The attitude of most of the American colonists toward education was similar to that of the mother country.

Not a function of the state. During the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries the theory persisted that education was not a responsibility of the State but the business of the family and the Church. During the Middle Ages the Church had had a monopoly of education, and after the establishment of the English Church in the sixteenth century this theory and practice continued. School-teachers were required to hold a license from the bishops or other Church authorities. The educational work of dissenters from the English Church was not permitted. With the exception of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, the English Church made little effort before the nineteenth century to provide for the education of the masses.

This society was founded in 1699 to provide schools to give instruction in the catechism and the Scriptures and the liturgy of the Church. Part of its mission was to erect schools for the instruction in reading, writing, and the catechism of any children whose parents or relatives were unable "to afford them the ordinary means of education." An auxiliary of this society, known as the Society for the Propagation



THOMAS BRAY

A colonial representative of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. (From C. K. Bolton's "Portraits of the Founders")

of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, did missionary and religious educational work among the poor in most of the American colonies. In such agencies as these appear almost all the educational efforts of the English Church until far into the nineteenth century.

Education of the poor. The educational emphasis of the Church was upon the training of poor and otherwise underprivileged children. Education in the home and in private dame schools was the prevailing practice for those whose parents were not poor; but instruction in charity schools maintained by voluntary religious societies or by individuals of philanthropic disposition was the rule for the children of the poor. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century the Sunday school appeared in England and gave instruction not only in religious matters but also in reading and writing and probably in the elements of arithmetic. The work of this agency, whose aim was as much secular as religious, spread to the United States and served a very useful purpose in furnishing elementary education to poor people.

Monitorial schools. In the early nineteenth century (1808) the British and Foreign School Society, a nonsectarian agency, developed out of the efforts of Joseph Lancaster and his monitorial schools for poor children. Lancaster claimed for his plan no sectarian motive, and it served to arouse considerable public interest in the education of poor children. The society, which enjoyed the patronage of the king and of many of the nobility, prospered and probably aroused jealousy among extreme sectarians of the English Church. Through assistance from Dr. Andrew Bell, who was also interested in methods and means of monitorial instruction, the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church was organized in 1811. This organization was able to secure some of the support which formerly had gone to the nonsectarian British and Foreign School Society, and the

rivalry of these two agencies led to an agitation that stimulated interest in public elementary education. The contest was so long and bitter that the principles of public support and public control were not established in England until 1870.

An effort has been made in this chapter to indicate briefly the economic, political, and religious conditions in England during the period of colonization, and the more potent forces in the settlement of this country. It appears that early schools and other means of education in the American colonies were inherited from England. The character of colonial life and institutions in general was determined (1) by the purposes of English colonization and the motives which led or drove the colonists to America, (2) by the traditions and customs which the colonists inherited and brought with them from their old homes, and (3) by the "conditions of the wilderness" — the physical circumstances of the new world in which the colonists found themselves. It was natural that Englishmen should do here the same things they had been accustomed to do there, and in a similar manner. For the most part, therefore, the customs of England were adopted or adapted to the conditions of a frontier region. This transplanting of English theories and practices will be seen in Chapter V, which deals with education in the American colonies. But first in Chapter IV other aspects of colonial life will be considered.

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QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Describe the economic, political, religious, and social conditions in England in the sixteenth century.

2. Discuss the motives which probably led the colonists to this country.

3. If the colonists came to secure religious freedom, why was it so feebly guaranteed during the colonial period? Consider the same question with reference to political liberty.

4. What was the condition of education for the lower classes in England during the period of colonization?

5. Show why it is difficult for a common-school system to develop in countries or communities where class distinctions are marked. Point out any present-day examples.

6. What old theories are upset by Wertenbaker's study of colonial Virginia? Consider his sources of information.

7. Why were free schools and printing presses so low in the esteem of Governor Berkeley of Virginia? Was his assumption sound? What is the attitude of governing authority in the American states today toward such agencies of popular enlightenment?

8. Make a study of the monitorial schools in regard to (1) purpose, (2) organization, and (3) results.

CHAPTER IV

THE COLONIAL CLIMATE

Outline of the chapter 1 Conditions in the American colonies were unfavorable for the development of the finer elements of civilized life among the masses.

2. Colonial culture was an inheritance from Europe, where the aristocratic theory of education was strong. Class distinctions, based for the most part upon slavery, were marked.

3. The franchise was generally restricted to property owners in all the colonies, and these restrictions were not removed in the old states until after the Revolutionary War.

4. Social distinctions were conspicuous in the earliest New England colleges until the eve of the Revolution. The rules of primogeniture and entail and the legal establishment of religions served to strengthen class distinctions.

5. Contrasts in colonial culture were probably not so striking as has commonly been supposed. Geography is the explanation of most of the differences that did develop.

6. Throughout the colonies democracy was disliked socially as well as politically. Distinctions between the well-to-do and the underprivileged helped to prevent the growth of public education.

All the American colonies except Georgia were established during the seventeenth century, under conditions described in the preceding chapter. The early settlements were scattered, the pressure of material needs upon the settlers was heavy, the means of transportation and of communication were crude and slow, and colonial life was restricted and controlled in large part by European thought and traditions. Hardships marked this pioneer period. Conditions were unfavorable for the rapid development of the finer elements of civilized life among the masses of the people. Most of the colonists lived close to the soil and had little leisure or opportunity to develop a taste for intellectual interests. The

value of collective action in providing the means of education — an unknown value in Europe in the seventeenth century — was not promptly found in the New World. The colonial period is important, however (especially the latter part), because in it appeared the beginnings of the theory on which the American school system was finally to be established.

Colonial culture inherited from Europe. As noted at the end of Chapter III, schools and other means of education in the American colonies were for the most part inherited from Europe; so also was colonial culture in general. A voyage of a few weeks across the sea could not alter the theory or the practice of education with which the colonists were acquainted in their old homes. In Europe education was intended only for the upper classes. The idea of free education, available for all at public expense, was generally unknown in the countries from which the early settlers came. Rarely did such an idea occupy the minds of the most advanced educational thinkers.

It was but natural that the European traditions of education should continue in the colonies. England had her universities at Oxford and Cambridge, and in the colonies by the end of the seventeenth century there were established Harvard in Massachusetts, William and Mary in Virginia, Yale in Connecticut, and six other colleges by 1769: Princeton in New Jersey, Academy and College (now the University) of Pennsylvania, King's College (later Columbia) in New York, Brown in Rhode Island, Rutgers in New Jersey, and Dartmouth in New Hampshire. These institutions were suggested by if not set up on the pattern of the English universities. In England were the Latin grammar schools, with their emphasis upon Latin and Greek. These schools were transplanted bodily, became numerous in New England, and were found also in all the other colonies except Georgia. They served in the New World the same purpose

for which they were established in the Old — to prepare the sons of the well-to-do for college. In both England and America the curriculum of the Latin grammar school was almost identical.

England had her famous Eton and Westminster, established on endowments and attended by the sons of the privileged classes; Virginia, her Symms and Eaton, established before that colony was fifty years old, with efforts as early as 1617 to establish Henrico College and East India School; and New England, her Andover and Exeter, founded in the Revolutionary period. These and numerous other academics, which had their beginnings in a proposal by Benjamin Franklin in 1743, were patterned in part on academics in England. Even the Sunday school was brought to the United States from England.

Many of these different types of schools had their origin in private philanthropy, another practice inherited from Europe. The motive was generally religious and grew out of medieval church practices whose roots probably reached back to St. Paul's doctrine of good works. The endowed school was old in England when that country planted colonies in America. Generous individuals had given of their wealth to support schools, as is their habit today, through genuine interest in the cause of education or, under coercive courtesy, in an effort to square their accounts with the Church. The wills of the period testify to this practice in the colonies.

England had her dame schools, and these flourished also in the colonies, especially in Massachusetts. England had her tutorial instruction, and so had the colonies, especially those in the middle and southern parts. England made almost no provision for the education of women, and this neglect was also inherited in the colonies. The apprenticeship and poor-law practices were directly transplanted from England; so also was the charity, or pauper, elementary

school, which so long stood in the way of the growth of the free, publicly supported, publicly controlled, nonsectarian school now so widely developed in the United States.

The idea of public education slow to appear. The beliefs that education should be controlled by the Church, and that instruction and training in religious doctrines and ideals were important purposes of education, were also included in the heritage transmitted by England to America. The results of the Reformation had not weakened either of these beliefs and had greatly strengthened the latter. The idea that it was the duty and function of the State to control or support education in any form was very slow to appear. When the theory finally emerged, it strengthened slowly, and the contests which have marked the long and laborious efforts made to gain its practical acceptance became quite bitter. In almost all respects the educational traditions and practices of England served as the guide to the American colonists and reflected themselves in colonial life or were actually reproduced in it.

Some parts of the educational work were inherited directly from England and were reproduced in the American colonies with little or no change. Other parts were modified by conditions of environment in the colonies. Differences in environment (the result primarily of geography), the occupational differences of the colonists, and class distinctions which grew out of prevailing economic conditions and were found in all the colonies explain for the most part the lack of uniform means and methods of educational work. The colonists inherited motives and purposes of education, types of schools, textbooks, methods of teaching, and educational machinery or forms of organization and control, such as charters, statutes, and the like, and these were somewhat similar in all the colonies. College professors were often imported from Europe. Even the New England Primer, which served to teach "millions to read and not one to

sin," had its origin in England. Colonial practices in education entirely different from practices in Europe were very few.

Class distinctions marked. Colonial life, built upon the culture of Europe, could not be democratic. Class distinctions, based upon servitude — black slaves or white indentured servants — were conspicuous. The rich Boston merchants "owned slaves as house servants and bought and sold them like other merchandise," just as did prosperous planters in the South; and merchants and traders dominated life in New England just as prosperous planters directed political and social affairs in the South.

New Englanders and Virginians alike enslaved their fellow men of all colors — white and black, and even red whenever possible. If they finally showed preference for their black brothers, it was because of economic necessity. The white could serve their time, as they did in all the colonies, and turn their faces toward freedom. The high-spirited Indian, stubborn or rash under compulsion, was a poor worker and therefore an expensive servant. But the nature of the negro made him easy to control. He was somewhat inexpensive to maintain, he was tractable, and he was generally a good worker. The negro slaves increased rapidly and, by the time of the Revolution, exceeded in number the white people in the Carolinas, Georgia, Maryland, and Virginia. They constituted one fifth of the population in Delaware and Pennsylvania and one sixth in New York. Even in New England, where they were unprofitable and where the loudest protest against their condition was earliest heard, they numbered one fiftieth of the population at that time.

Among the privileged people, who were separated from the underprivileged, or servile, classes, often even by distinctions in dress, close attention was paid to the niceties of rank. Congregations in New England classified and seated their members in church according to rank. The committee

on seating were expected in the interest of the peace and dignity of the neighborhood to be guided in their solemn decisions by considerations of family descent, economic wealth, social prestige, age, and military rank; but when there was controversy the facts were heard and assignments were made by a committee appointed by the town meeting. While New England was observing these rules the privileged in Virginia were asserting their right to lead by requiring their underprivileged neighbors to wait outside the church until the leaders in the congregation had found their pews.

In the American colonies one sat at table or held place in processions by regulation among those people who are so often applauded for leaving England in protest against restricted conditions there. Under the law in colonial Massachusetts a "true gentleman" could not be punished by whipping "unless the crime was very shameful and his course in life vicious and profligate." It was presumptuous for an ordinary person to dispute the opinions of his betters or to question their right to leadership. "A poor man has rarely the honor of speaking to a gentleman on any terms and never with any familiarity but for a few weeks before the election," said a spokesman of the underprivileged in Philadelphia on the eve of the Revolution. A school system designed for the education of the masses could not develop in such an atmosphere. Such a system could not even be designed under such conditions.

Restriction of the ballot. The restriction of the ballot to those who were privileged in property also retarded the growth of public education. In all the colonies the privilege of voting was fixed and permitted according to the old English theory that ownership of real estate was the correct qualification for voting. Under this theory a man's property, and not his character, nationality, residence, or educational fitness, entitled him to vote. This right to the ballot was claimed and given in much the same way as one

would today claim the right to vote in a meeting of the stockholders of a corporation — ownership of stock is the requirement. Ownership of real estate was accepted as evidence of material interest in the community.

Seven of the thirteen colonies — Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, New Jersey, New Hampshire, New York, and Rhode Island — required the ownership of landed property as a qualification of the voter. Five required the ownership of land, or as an alternative other property of a fixed value, usually forty or fifty pounds. These colonies were Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Connecticut, and Massachusetts. South Carolina required ownership of real property or the payment of taxes amounting to ten shillings a year. In all the colonies the theory prevailed that those persons who had a fixed, valuable, and permanent interest in real estate were fittest to choose and to be officers and law-makers. They must stand or fall with their country. If the property requirement should be relaxed or removed and an uncertain requirement substituted, strangers, transients, or beggars who would have little interest in the community could easily become lawmakers and officers. They could oppress the landed people with burdensome taxes.

Moral, religious, and residential qualifications, when required at all, were confined for the most part to particular colonies. Moral and religious qualifications were practically limited to the colonies most directly under Puritan influence and during the seventeenth century. Massachusetts restricted the ballot to those having church membership. But when Massachusetts and Plymouth lost their independent status by their union in 1691, property replaced religion as the principal qualification for the right to vote. In New York the letter of the law excluded Jews and Catholics from the suffrage, though this seems not to have been strictly enforced. In Virginia free negroes and Catholics were excluded, and in South Carolina only Protestants were allowed to vote.

In all the colonies the franchise was restricted to a small fraction of the people. There were fewer voters proportionately in New England than in the other colonies. In Massachusetts and Connecticut only one person in fifty exercised the suffrage, although a larger proportion had the right. The number of church members in Massachusetts included only a very distinct minority of the population. As early as 1635 a law had been passed compelling all the inhabitants to attend church under penalty of fine and imprisonment, and three years later a law was enacted requiring every resident, whether a freeman and church member or not, to be taxed to support the ministers. But in 1640 probably three fourths of the people were outside the pale. The voters formed only 9 per cent of the population in Rhode Island. Half the men over twenty-one years of age were without any political privileges whatever in New York. Three eastern counties in Pennsylvania manipulated the franchise in the entire colony until the Revolutionary period. The proportion of voters in the other colonies was very small.

Gradual disuse of the property test. The property qualification for voting remained the dominating requirement far into the national period. During the Revolutionary period only eight of the states altered their laws on suffrage, and these changes were so slight as to indicate almost no change in the theory which had dominated during the colonial period. The most manifest tendency in the changes was toward the reduction of the amount of property required. Moral and religious qualifications soon substantially disappeared, but the exclusive property test remained the rule for half a century or longer.

It fell into disfavor slowly, especially in those states where the forces of conservatism continued intrenched. In New York, in Massachusetts, and in Virginia in the decade from 1820 to 1830 the fight on the subject was bitter, and the old practice died hard. Some of the ablest leaders of these

states, including the eminent James Kent, labored to restrict the suffrage to the small group of property owners and taxpayers. But the states which entered the Union after 1800 never had the struggle of property interests against the new and growing democratic ideal. The forces of liberalism gained rapidly among the new states, where property qualifications and tax requirements for the privilege of voting were generally frowned upon by the sturdy pioneers and the insurgent spirit of frontier democracy, which denied the validity or justice of distinctions. The constitution of Indiana of 1816 admitted to suffrage white men of one year's residence in that state, in 1818 Illinois made the same provision but reduced the requirement to six months, and in 1820 Missouri provided for suffrage in the same manner and required a residence of only three months in the state.

Social distinctions in the early colleges. Perhaps nowhere in American colonial life were class, or social, distinctions and special privileges more conspicuous than in New England's earliest colleges: in Harvard, founded in 1636, and in Yale, established in 1701. In the catalogues of Harvard down to 1772 and of Yale down to 1767 the names of the students were not listed alphabetically, as democracy would presumably demand, but in an order which was supposed to indicate the social rank of their fathers or their families. This practice probably grew out of conditions with which the founders of Harvard had been accustomed at Oxford and Cambridge, where many of them had been trained. Although there was not in the English institutions the identical usage, the custom in the New England colleges was connected with certain distinctions of rank observed in the English universities. There the students defined their own status by the fees that they paid, and these were determined somewhat by their financial and social position. By their practice some sort of social precedence must have been

indicated, though no attempt seems to have been made at Oxford and Cambridge to arrange the trades and professions of the students' fathers in any order of precedence.

Lists based on family pedigree. These class lists, especially at Harvard in the early period, were made principally on the basis of family pedigree. There was a conscious effort through the college roll to preserve the respect due to family names of distinction. And even at Yale, a trifle more democratic and homespun than Harvard, there was high respect for such names. The claims of family aristocracy and ancestral distinctions were protected or exalted, and it is probable that personal partiality or prejudice had influence. At both institutions a name of renown was its own justification for an unrivaled place in the college lists; though at both an ample fortune seems also to have been taken into account in estimating family rank.

The low place occupied by the son of unquestioned family claims could be explained only by "straitened paternal circumstances." The notebook of the president of Yale, within two decades of the Revolution, revealed that the parents of certain students low in the lists were "of middling estate, much impoverished." Exceptional regard was paid then, as now, to economic wealth, and slights upon some of those who failed by the test of wealth were as common in college as in the world outside. The students who ranked highest generally had the most influential friends. They were given the best living quarters and had the right to help themselves first at table. When the freshmen were notified of their rank they took their places in classes, dining rooms, and chapel in carefully graded precedence.

At Harvard and Yale the class lists were made up at the opening of the session each year and remained unchanged except upon discovery of some error in arrangement, which was probably infrequent, or when a student suffered "degradation" for misconduct, which ranked in severity next to

expulsion. Even improvement in the father's social or official position during his son's college career did not always make for the rearrangement of the latter's position on the class lists.

Important relations of parents to the colleges were also considered in the ranking of their sons. Advantage was given to the sons of trustees or benefactors, and the relative status of the professions and other employments was recognized. The son of an innkeeper, to whose high public trust honorable regard was paid, was listed at the head of his class at Harvard in 1667, and his social inferiors included the sons of a minister who was a graduate of an English university. Later, however, the occupation of innkeeper failed to maintain the esteemed rank it once enjoyed.

Objections to the custom. Criticisms of the custom were heard from students and parents for some time before it was abandoned. The spirit of independence, gradually growing buoyant and defiant, helped to break down the bars of aristocratic precedence in college and to discard the recognition of superior privileges and the rights of rank and station. Moreover, the plan was increasingly difficult to administer. The highest and the lowest members of a class could be ascertained readily, perhaps; but there was chance for uncertainty and error in determining the intermediate members, especially in those cases which easily lent themselves to an indulgence of partiality by the college authorities. Much excitement followed the placing of the students, who were often enraged or chagrined by disappointment and generally settled down to an acquiescence in their lot slowly and reluctantly.

The custom stubborn. Nor did the parents always escape the effects of the practice. When Samuel Phillips, the founder of the well-known academy at Andover bearing his name, was placed below Daniel Murray in a class at Harvard, complaint was made. The father of Phillips and the father of Murray were both justices of the peace, but

Phillips had been elevated to the distinction earlier than Murray. When this startling evidence was discovered, the system at Harvard was brought to a crisis and soon collapsed. This incident led to a report of the governing body of the college, which recommended the substitution of the alphabetical arrangement of students for the old plan of placing them on the basis of the "supposed dignity of the families." This change took place about 1772. Ten years or more earlier an effort to establish another college in Massachusetts seems to have been led by a man who was humiliated if not irritated because his son had been ranked fourteenth in a class of thirty-five students at Harvard, whereas he himself had ranked tenth in the class of 1727, which contained thirty-seven students.

The practice was given up at Yale about 1767. A student there at the time indicated that a new emphasis was being placed upon scholarship and literary attainment rather than upon artificial class distinctions. "There appears to be a laudable ambition to excel in knowledge," he wrote. "It is not he that has got the finest coat or largest ruffles that is esteemed here at present. And as the class henceforward are to be placed alphabetically, the students may expect marks of distinction to be put upon the best scholars and speakers."

The custom died hard in both institutions. The practice of degradation seems to have continued at Harvard for many years. It was listed as one of the established penalties until 1820, and was used for disciplinary purposes. At Yale the practice of degradation disappeared, with the custom out of which it grew.

There is no evidence of the custom of placing students on the basis of family at Brown, which had no students until 1765, or at Dartmouth, which opened a few years later. By that time the custom was in disrepute at Yale and growing in unpopularity at Harvard. Nor is there evidence of such

practices at Princeton or at Pennsylvania or at Columbia or at Rutgers. There seems to have been nothing of this kind at William and Mary, the second college to be established in the colonies and the only one in the South, though the early records and memorials of this institution are very few. The available records indicate that this college was rather democratic and the students were accepted on equal terms. Although they may not have been seated at table according to social rank, they were jealous of their rights. A petition signed by James Monroe, afterwards president of the United States, and other students suggested to the faculty that the food in the dining hall be improved.

Primogeniture and entail. Class distinctions were also strengthened in the colonies by an ancient family institution brought from England — the old custom of transmitting landed property. The rule of primogeniture, which gave the landed inheritance to the eldest son to the entire exclusion of sisters and younger brothers, prevailed in all the colonies except Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, and in these the eldest male generally received a double portion. The law of entail, making landed property an inalienable possession that could not be given away or sold, was widely applied also. These two rules worked against the equal distribution of inheritances and encouraged feudalistic distinctions which were not removed until the Revolutionary period, when there was an onslaught on some of the special privileges of colonial days.

Religious interests. The general distaste of the governing colonists for democracy appears in matters of religion. The English Church was established by law in Virginia, in Maryland, and in the Carolinas. In Virginia it was recognized from the beginning of the colony; in 1643 a law was passed against dissenters, and only Anglican ministers were permitted to conduct religious services. But the attempt to exclude all except those of the Anglican faith finally failed

just before the Revolution. In North Carolina the English Church was less powerful than in Virginia, and the people showed widespread unwillingness to be taxed to support a religion which they did not profess.

Established churches. A similar attitude prevailed in South Carolina, though the English Church, established there in 1706, was strongly intrenched. This came to be the established church in Georgia also. Maryland, settled by Catholics, had no church establishment in its early period, and about the middle of the seventeenth century it passed a law for religious toleration, probably to enable the Baltimores to hold their property; but by 1702 the English Church was set up and severe laws were enacted against the Catholics. In New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and New York laws could not be passed to establish and give monopoly to any form of religion, but in the last of these colonies the Anglican Church finally won a place of supremacy. Dissenters multiplied in all these colonies. "Africa is not more full of monsters than Pennsylvania is of sects," wrote a disturbed minister of the Anglican Church. The small colony of Rhode Island was tolerant in religion and became a refuge for all who sought freedom of worship. Roger Williams believed that no one should be compelled "to worship or to maintain a worship against his own consent"; that "persecution for cause of conscience" was contrary to the teachings of Christ. In the other New England colonies Puritanism was very strong, and the Congregational churches were supported by taxation.

At the opening of the Revolution nine of the thirteen colonies had legally established churches. In Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, Georgia, and New York, which had the right of support by public taxation, it was the Anglican Church; in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire the Puritan, or Congregational, Church had a similar monopoly. It was many years after the Revolution before

the church was disestablished in all these states. In Massachusetts the religious monopoly was held until 1833.

Religious interests strong. Religious interests were more or less strong, however, in all the colonies. Confession of no religious belief was no more heinous in New England than it was in Virginia, where it was almost as bad as the confession of favor for the ways of Catholics or of Quakers, who were punished in the pillory for wearing hats in church. Religious fanaticism laid the penalty of death upon witches in Massachusetts, and in Virginia juries of matrons were appointed to fumble over the bodies of old women for "witch marks." Sins or delights of the flesh were condemned as severely in Virginia as in New England. So also was skepticism or atheism. Even Edward Maria Wingfield, a man of high birth and good family connections, who became the first president of the council and governor of the colony of Virginia, stood substantially accused of denying the existence of God because he failed to take a Bible with him to the New World. A candidate for speaker of the House of Burgesses accused of blasphemy and atheism seems to have had his case investigated by the general court. Virginia even mildly disciplined its blasphemous soldiers by piercing their tongues with red-hot irons.

The clergy in the South were generally devout and as exemplary as the times demanded, though, as elsewhere, there were instances among them of loose living and ungodly conversation. The Established Church bred in the South some fox-hunting parsons and perfunctory church worshipers, and in New England gloomy Puritanism grew a domineering body of clergy, witch-watchers, and heresy-hunters. The churches in the South were never crowded, and nonattendance at the unwarmed churches became a problem for New England magistrates as early as 1646, when governing authority closely scrutinized conduct and legislated "for the more effectual suppressing of immorality and irreligion and

for putting in due execution sundry laws already made against vice and profaneness." It also noted the "want of Bibles in particular families, remissness and great neglect of attendance on the public worship of God," deficiency in family government, the neglect of catechizing, the prevalence of "talebearing, defamation, and intemperance," and sought to prevent the "unseasonable meetings of young people in the evenings after the Sabbath days." Even fines were ineffective on those who committed many and sundry abuses "on the Lord's day": children playing in the streets and other places; "youths, maids, and other persons, both strangers and others, uncivilly walking in the streets and fields, traveling from town to town, going on shipboard, frequenting common houses and other places to drink, sport, and otherwise to misspend that precious time."

There was now a new generation of American-born in New England who were less strict than their fathers and felt less resentment toward other religious sects. These must be called back to the old faith. Early Puritanism was weakening. Flaming youth was beginning to vex the fathers. The magistrates must now legislate in an effort to outwit the devil, and the "old deluder" act of 1647 (Chapter V) was passed by the General Court of Massachusetts. Instead of being a foundation stone upon which the American school system has been constructed, as is so often claimed for this law, it seems rather to have been an effort to restrict the influence of Catholics and adherents to the English Church and to impose the Puritan creed upon this first generation of native-born New Englanders.

Colonial contrasts. Many historians, often with the zeal and fervor of provincial patriots, have written much concerning cultural differences in the colonies — Puritan and pious New Englanders, mercenary merchants in the middle colonies, and careless Cavaliers in the South. William Bradford, sometimes called the father of American history,

believed that New England was set apart as a chosen land and its early settlers as the elect. "We are the Lord's chosen people. His hand is ever guiding us," the New Englanders said humbly but proudly. "God sifted a whole nation that he might send choice grain over into the wilderness," declared the Reverend William Stroughan in a sermon in 1668. Those who (by an accident of early seventeenth-century navigation) landed in New England have been held up as deeply religious and highly respectful toward learning and its advancement. They became learned and democratic, developed devotion toward liberty and equality, and gave to America a democratic school system. Those who settled in the middle colonies are often mirrored as indifferent to education and the demands of the higher life, and interested chiefly in commerce and trade. Schools and other means of education were left largely to each religious group and to those who could pay for the privilege. And it has often been written that farther south the early settlers had come not as like-minded congregations, such as found their way to New England, but singly and alone, and intent on economic gain. Class distinctions were strong, education and religion were neglected, and popular government was frowned on.

The influence of geography. From the outset geography served as a powerful influence in the life of the American colonists. It was perhaps more powerful than motives of settlement and religious and educational attitudes. Geography, topography, climate, and occupational interests, which were determined by these conditions, had deep and lasting influence on colonial life and culture.

The climate was gentle and nature otherwise generous in the South, where the land was cheap and fertile and assured an easy living. "Plenty and a warm sun" made for a life of ease in North Carolina, according to William Byrd's notes, which he jotted down in his journal while he served

as a member of the commission that ran the boundary line between Virginia and North Carolina in 1728. "Surely there is no place in the world where the inhabitants live with less labor than in North Carolina," and he believed that this condition was due principally to "the great felicity of the climate" and to "the easiness of raising provisions." And such was the entire Southern region, which became and has remained a rural and agricultural section.

The power of tobacco in Virginia. Tobacco was a strong influence in Virginia. It was highly respected not only by the colonists themselves but by the government in England as well. The custodian of the crown's purse appeared enraged when the Virginia Assembly sent to England in 1693 James Blair, a minister of high standing, to secure a charter and financial aid for the institution now known



JAMES BLAIR

Founder and first president of the College of William and Mary. (From C. K. Bolton's "Portraits of the Founders.")

as the College of William and Mary. Blair presented the order for the funds to the custodian, who complained at the extravagance. Blair then reminded him that a college was needed in Virginia to train ministers to preach the gospel to the people, who had "souls to be saved." "Souls!" exclaimed the custodian. "Damn your souls! Raise tobacco."

The road to wealth and to political and social leadership in Virginia lay in land and tobacco, a crop which could be made easily with unskilled and cheap labor. Negro slavery, introduced into that colony in 1619, promised almost from

the outset to be profitable, and it was encouraged and developed until the Civil War. In the same year that unfortunate and dispossessed class known as white indentured servants were introduced. Many of these were political offenders, perhaps even condemned criminals, and some were fairly well-educated people who had fallen on evil days. Some came from jails and poorhouses and the streets of London; in vagabondage because they could get no work, or given to petty thievery because they were hungry. The servant was a person who was generally bound by the ship captain, who transported him to the planter, who paid his transportation or otherwise purchased the right to his service. The term of service for such a person varied from two to seven years, and at the end of that period he became free.

Many of these servants became renters or tenants on the plantations of their former masters, some became planters themselves, and some even attained membership in the Assembly of Virginia. Of the forty-four members of the House of Burgesses in 1629 seven were listed as servants five years earlier and were working out the cost of their passage across the ocean. Six members of that House in 1632 had been servants. It is estimated that from 30 to 40 per cent of the landowners of Virginia before and during the year 1635 had come to the colony as servants, and that as late as the middle of the century there were wide opportunities for men of this class.

Although leadership fell to the great planters, individual initiative and industry were rewarded. The white servant could become the farmer, the farmer could become the planter, and the planter could attain a place of social and political leadership in Virginia, which was not free, however, from feudalistic tendencies. But there, as in the other colonies, the main basis of distinction was the possession of wealth. Nowhere in the colonies was this frowned upon as a social grievance, but in all of them it was respected as

evidence of success. And it had its own reward. Commerce, trade; and land, whether in New England, the middle colonies, or the South, furnished the foundation of political and social control.

Economic interests in other colonies. New England was adapted to no single staple crop. It had no wide-stretching areas. It developed a domestic coasting trade and trading centers, and both these and the middle colonies went from commerce to manufacturing. In them the conditions were more favorable for the Industrial Revolution, that new economic basis for educational and industrial interests. In compact village communities which early arose the value of collective action was early learned. But the influence of geography made it impossible for the common school to develop in a domain of large plantations and scattered population. In Virginia and the other Southern colonies old-field and neighborhood schools, with the migratory teachers of the time, seem to have taken the place of the town schools in New England.

The extent of education. If common schooling was somewhat less extensive in the colonies outside New England, the culture of the educated and leading class seems to have been wider and more generous. This was true in particular of Virginia, which had many private libraries of considerable size. Before 1680 Virginia had no printing press, and the large number of books found in that colony in the seventeenth century had been printed in England, Holland, and France. Private collections of books indicate wide interest among the planters in reading for information, recreation, and pleasure. New York, Charleston, Philadelphia, and Boston had small public libraries before the Revolutionary period for the "self-improvement" of the people generally. Especially useful was the library in Philadelphia, where, under the stimulus of Franklin, there was growing in the eighteenth century an eager spirit of inquiry. Before the

end of the century it had "ten thousand volumes, well selected, for the information and improvement of all ranks of the citizens." Studies of wills and of inventories of personal property appraised during the seventeenth century continue to reduce the supposed differences in such means of culture between New England and the other colonies.

Democracy not in favor among the leaders. But democracy was as much disliked socially by the early colonists, whether in the North or the South, as it was scorned politically. Men who were not significant in England became so in the New World, with its isolation, its freedom from traditional restraints, and its opportunity for success with little or no capital. When they gained social and political position they guarded it jealously and were slow to admit others to it. It was natural for them to endeavor to intrench themselves in economic, political, and even legal privilege. However implicit democracy may have been in the Mayflower Compact and in other covenants of the church or the town in New England, it was not recognized for the most part by the leaders there or elsewhere in the colonies. They were miniature aristocracies based upon economic wealth, whether acquired chiefly on tobacco and rice plantations in the South or principally through commerce and trade in the North. And democracy must develop before the public school could be provided.

In the minds of the colonial leaders, of most of the early national leaders, and of many of those who later dominated in political and social matters, property rights were closely identified with natural rights. To them political liberties came to mean privileges which they themselves prescribed. Under such conditions the principle of the equality of education could have no practical meaning or application. Scores of those who did lip service to the "enlightenment of the minds of the people at large" were valiant enough in resisting any attacks upon their own liberties when the

attacks came from their political or social equals; but when it came to the test of providing for the less well-favored, they were unwilling to share with their inferiors the liberty that they themselves claimed to love.

Throughout the colonial period and far down into the nineteenth century the underprivileged were taught to look upon "gentlefolk" as belonging to a superior order and to keep their humble distance. One group owned most of the property, paid most of the taxes, and monopolized the places of power. Even some of the most enlightened leaders of the early national period were slow to believe any signs pointing to the democratic awakening which came later. The other group, generally honest and industrious and able to live creditably among their neighbors, were nevertheless unprepared for leadership and without the means of education and training. They were powerless in conditions where the distinctions between the well-to-do and the inferior were so marked. And these distinctions were the rule rather than the exception throughout the colonial period and even later in the United States. They stood as stubborn obstacles in the way of public education.

Enslaved to superstition. The intellectual life of the colonists was bottomed upon the prevailing opinions, prejudices, and notions of England of the period. The popular imagination, edged by theology, was still under the spell of medieval science: "moon-signs, zodiac-signs, horoscopes, ominous eclipses followed by devastating fires, and comets presaging disaster and the death of princes," and the active meddling of grotesque evil spirits and house-haunting demons. Belief in witchcraft was the fashion of the time, the Puritans in particular fully accepting the Biblical injunction "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." The penal code of the period, which was marked by Mosaic and medieval barbarity, recognized differences in rank. Punishments fell less heavily upon the well-to-do than upon the inferior.

Colonial life was not characterized by humaneness. The conditions surrounding the poor and the unfortunate, the blind and the insane, the weak of will, and the debtors in filthy prisons were horrible. The extraordinary medical notions of the time reveal to some extent the slavery of the colonists to superstition. Spider-web pills were given to cure ague, screech-owl brains were recommended for headache, fangs of wolves necklaced on children saved them from fright, and girdles of cast-off rattlesnake skins aided childbirth. An atmosphere of such savage hocus-pocus was not good for science and the advancement of learning. But history cannot condemn the colonists for errors and superstition when fully half a century after William Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood the orthodox medical faculty of the University of Paris asked the French king to prohibit the teaching of the theory.

This chapter shows that in almost no way was the climate of the colonies good for public schools. The right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness had not yet been recognized. The rights of men as men were unknown. The only known and recognized rights were of men as members of classes and groups. "The people," to whom appeal was made as the conflict with England approached, were in fact a privileged class whose rights were rooted in the ownership of property. The poor and the unfortunate, the servant and the slave, and the underprivileged must patiently wait for relief and for opportunity from sources and forces not much in evidence in the colonial period. Such forces, later to develop, and their influence upon education are to be treated in Chapters VI and VII. Meantime examination should be made of the types of schools and other means of education that were established in the colonies.

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QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Show how education in the American colonies was inherited from Europe.

2. List the obstacles in the way of a healthy growth of public education in the colonies.

3. Account for the fact that class distinctions were marked in the colonies.

4. What were the arguments for and against the restriction of the ballot to those who owned property?

5. If the early settlers came to this country to gain religious and political liberties, why was the ballot so restricted and Jews and Catholics usually excluded from the suffrage?

6. Show how the ancient rules of primogeniture and entail were not wholesome for the growth of democracy.

7. Discuss the effect of officially established churches and their monopoly of religion upon education. How did they aid education? How did they retard it?

8. One state has better educational facilities than another, and counties in the same state often vary in educational advantages, some having good and others having inadequate facilities. Geographical location and the type or character of the people are among the conditions that have influence in this matter. What condition, if any, in your opinion is most influential in determining the kind of schools or other educational agencies which a community or a state provides?

9. It is said that the location of the settlements in Virginia in 1607 and in Massachusetts in 1620 was somewhat accidental if not largely so. If those people who came to Virginia had located in Massachusetts and if those who landed at Plymouth Rock had located in Virginia, what would have been the subsequent history of education in those two states? Give reasons for your answer.

10. Offer evidence to prove the statement that civilization in Massachusetts is higher and more worthy than that in Mexico. What, in your opinion, are the most reliable measures of the height of a civilization?

11. Note any survivals today of superstition and barbarous laws the roots of which run back to the colonial period or earlier.

12. Read and report on "The Worst American State," listed in the "References and Readings" above.

13. According to the material presented in that series of articles, what was the worst American state and what was the best?

14. According to the materials presented by Angoff and Mencken, what are the best measures of social progress?

15. Examine the article by Dexter, referred to above, and compare it with what Samuel Eliot Morison has to say about the same subject in his *Three Centuries of Harvard* (Harvard University Press, 1936), pp. 103-105.

16. Read the book by Farish, listed above, and report on the advice which young Fithian gave his successor as tutor at Nomini Hall.

CHAPTER V

EARLY PRACTICES

Outline of the chapter. 1. Generally throughout all the colonies education was looked upon not as a function of the State but as a function of the Church.

2 The apprenticeship practices were established upon the act of 1601 of England and developed into a system of education for the underprivileged.

3. The first general school law (in 1647 in Massachusetts) was not, as has often been claimed, the basis of the public-school system of the United States.

4. The growing power of localism led to the random establishment of schools in most of the colonies; then came the beginnings of the district school.

5. The Latin grammar school, inherited from England, appeared in most of the colonies, if not all, but reached its fullest development in New England.

6. Nine colleges were established in the colonies, with philanthropy the mother of them all and the religious or theological purpose strong in all of them except one; Franklin's proposed course was liberal.

7. Educational endowments were numerous, the dame school appeared, and there were evening schools, but the education of women was neglected.

8. The materials of instruction were meager and the methods were wasteful.

9. Interest in cultural agencies appeared in printing presses and in newspapers.

10. Discipline was severe in school and out, the penal code was brutal, and the rights of childhood were not often respected.

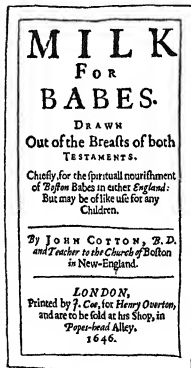
When William Berkeley, Virginia's early royal governor, reported in 1671 to the authorities in England on conditions in that colony, he said, concerning educational practices, "The same course that is taken in England out of towns; every man according to his ability instructing his children." The practices to which he referred were prevalent also in

the other colonies. Those who could afford the privilege of education, the dominating theory of which was aristocratic, provided it for their children by tutorial instruction or in local neighborhood schools. Education was not generally

looked upon as a function of the State, but as the business of the Church, the family, or the individual.

Nearly three decades earlier the legislature of Virginia, in confirming the will of Benjamin Symms, who had still earlier founded a school in that colony, officially encouraged "others in like pious performances."

Here was revealed another educational practice in the colonies. Philanthropic individuals, societies, or religious organizations established schools or other means of education and training primarily for the poor, who had been neglected and who, under the Protestant theory of personal salvation, must be able to read the Bible. The work of these agencies in the American colonies



TITLE PAGE OF A COLONIAL BOOK
WHICH ILLUSTRATES THE RELIGIOUS
MOTIVE IN EDUCATION

was usually very elementary and consisted chiefly of instruction in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and training in morals and religion through the Bible and the catechism.

The religious motive. Early educational efforts in the American colonies were, therefore, religious in motive. The

materials of instruction were religious or theological, and the teachers were chosen in the interest of orthodoxy and under its closest scrutiny. Instruction was generally marked by sectarian dogmatism, and discipline by a severity and brutality rooted in a theology which looked upon children as conceived in iniquity and born in sin. Theology gave the child a bad name, which he has found difficult to live down even with the assistance of the most accommodating and fashionable psychology.

Apprenticeship and the poor. Under the conditions described in Chapter IV nonsectarian schools, supported and controlled by the public and open alike to all, whether rich or poor, could not develop. Popular education in the modern sense was as foreign and as inappropriate to the colonists as was the idea of popular and democratic government. The education of the masses had scarcely been thought of even as an ideal. But governing authority (the Church or the State) in colonial America early gave slight educational attention to underprivileged and poor children, and thus took the initial step along the toilsome and difficult way toward a public-school system. This step was taken through legislation providing for the compulsory apprenticeship of poor and neglected children.

The custom of apprenticing beginners in crafts and trades to masters had been general throughout England as early as the fourteenth century. Until 1562 it was a local custom, however, its regulation differing somewhat in different localities. Under the Statute of Artificers enacted in that year it became in effect a national system and operated and was regulated everywhere in England in the same way. The numerous and often conflicting laws on the subject of apprentices were consolidated in an effort to banish idleness, to advance husbandry and industry, and to afford a measure of protection and reasonable wages to the apprentices, "both in time of scarcity and in time of plenty."

This legislation sought to provide adequate training in trades and to reduce unemployment, which was a serious problem in England.

The statutory foundation of apprenticeship. The wholesome effect of the Statute of Artificers led to the passage of the Poor Law of 1601, which consolidated and strengthened previous laws in an effort to "provide work for those who could work, relief for those who could not, and punishment for those who would not." This act required the churchwardens and overseers to apprentice all poor children, the boys until they were twenty-four years of age and the girls until they were twenty-one or married. Indentures, or agreements, between the master and the churchwardens and overseers were required and were publicly recorded. The essential characteristics of this practice were reproduced in the American colonies, were carried over into the national period, and remained in wide force and practice until other agencies appeared to care for underprivileged children. In this country, however, certain features of the law were modified from time to time and others of an educational nature were acquired.

Colonial statutes. The apprenticeship practices became in the colonies an educational system of considerable significance for the underprivileged. As early as 1641 the General Court of the colony of New Plymouth passed an act recognizing the principle of the English Poor Law of 1601, that the care of poor children was a public responsibility, and providing that they could be placed in families for proper maintenance and presumably also for education.

In June, 1642, the Massachusetts Bay Colony passed a similar act. Many parents and masters were greatly neglecting to train their children "in labor and learning and other employments which may be profitable to the commonwealth," and the local officers were empowered by this law to correct the evil. The officers were to find out whether

parents and masters were teaching their children "to read and understand the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country" and to fine those who failed to report on these matters when required. They were also given authority to apprentice the children of those parents who were unable or unfit "to employ and bring them up." Each town was to be so divided that each officer would be responsible for a certain number of families. The provisions of this legislation, whose purpose was in part economic, were an improvement upon the English act, which sought to provide homes for poor children but not the means of their education. The Massachusetts law sought not only to promote employments profitable to the commonwealth but also the education of the children.

In March, 1643, Virginia passed similar legislation. The overseers and guardians of orphans were ordered by the county courts "to educate and instruct them according to their best endeavors in Christian religion and in rudiments of learning." The practice which developed under this legislation was popular in North Carolina also, where it appeared before the end of the seventeenth century and closely resembled the Virginia laws. Legislation on the subject was passed in South Carolina and Georgia in that century also.

In 1671 New Plymouth ordered that the officers "of every town shall have a vigilant eye from time to time over their brethren and neighbors" to see that all parents and masters "teach their children and servants as they grow capable, so much learning as through the blessing of God they may attain, at least to be able to read the Scriptures, and other profitable books printed in the English tongue and the knowledge of the capital laws." Parents and masters neglecting to "bring up their children and apprentices in some honest lawful calling" were to be fined. Apprenticeship, as thus regulated, became an educational practice

and was adopted in all the colonies. Tennessee and the other states which entered the Union during the early national period adopted the same or similar practices.

Essential features of apprenticeship. In all its essential features the system of apprenticeship applied to poor children, orphans, and illegitimate children, to those whose economic competence was insufficient to maintain and educate them "according to their rank and degree," and to girls as well as boys. It sometimes applied to negro and mulatto children also, especially in the South, although the indentures did not always make it obligatory on the master to teach his negro or mulatto apprentices to read and write. There are on record, however, a few cases of free negro children who were bound out and apprenticed under indentures which gave them the benefit of the usual educational features of the system. The practices of apprenticing neglected children were very general throughout the colonies, though they were more extensive in some than in others. In the main the indentures, or agreements, were similar.

The agencies of apprenticeship. The principal agencies for putting the machinery of the apprenticeship plan into operation were the town officials or the county courts, whose powers were conferred by legislation or derived from custom or the common law. Their interest in the poor and dependent children was usually more than nominal perhaps, though the educational provisions of the indentures were not always enforced. It is not unlikely that in some cases the indentures or their interpretations were more favorable to masters than to apprentices.

Guardians or masters were required to report at stated times, and the officers were charged with the proper administration of the practices and were also required to make inquiry annually concerning the observance of the laws. Often, however, the enforcement of the agreements, or indentures, depended on whether the apprentices, through

friends or the grand jury, were able to get their cases before the court. Complaints of failure to comply with the law and the indentures were not uncommon. Occasionally a master was summoned to answer the complaint of his apprentice and to "shew the court reasons why he does not teach him to read, as by indenture he is obliged." In such a case the master usually promised to "put his apprentice forthwith to school." The indentures did not always contain the educational requirements of the system, despite the directions of the law. Occasionally children were able to read and write when they were apprenticed; in such cases there was no legal necessity for including the educational requirements in the agreement.

Extent of the practices. The extent of the practices in the colonies will probably never be accurately known because of the scarcity of evidence. Moreover, it is not improbable that the children who were apprenticed often took their places in the homes of the guardians or masters on conditions of maintenance and care ordinarily granted to other members of the household, the guardians or masters giving their apprentices essentially the same attention which they gave their own children. When apprentices were ill used, the law or custom required their removal, and they were reapprenticed to other masters approved by the officials. Therefore the success of the educational feature of apprenticeship naturally depended on the interest of the masters or guardians and on the desire of the apprentices to get "book learning."

The old apprenticeship laws generally recognized first the economic, or industrial, or vocational purpose, because there was need for skilled artisans or workers. This came to be the dominating purpose, though humanitarian, religious, or philanthropic purposes were present in the practices. In the main, however, the purpose was to give poor, unfortunate, and neglected children opportunity to learn

useful trades and occupations so that they might become self-supporting and not public charges. It is not unlikely, therefore, that both the officials and the masters were more interested in the industrial than in the educational features of the apprenticeship plan, and through it sought to relieve the community of the financial burden incident to caring for its dependents.

A form of compulsory education. Through the system a distinct form of compulsory education was provided, crude and defective, but containing some useful elements. At best it was haphazard in operation and probably served to delay the growth of a wholesome public attitude toward social needs. It also implanted in governmental activity in education the element of charity, which was to prove a mischievous influence. Discrimination between the children of the well-to-do and those of the poor, by giving preference to the latter, was maintained in the school laws of the various states far into the nineteenth century. In these apprenticeship practices, however, appears the germ of the important principle that it is the duty and function of governing authority to care for the poor and to prepare poor and underprivileged children for useful occupations.

The first general school law. Another step in governmental activity in education, after the colonial adaptation of the English Poor Law of 1601, was taken by Massachusetts in 1647, when the so-called "old deluder" act was passed. Educational writers have repeatedly and proudly though uncritically pointed to this law as a firm and valid assertion of the right of the state to establish and maintain schools at public expense. This was the first general school law enacted in the American colonies; it formed the basis of the earliest school plan through the effort of a colonial government. Here it is in full, the spelling modernized :

It being one chief object of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times by keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times by persuading from the use of tongues, that so at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded by false glosses of saint-seeming deceivers, that learning may not be buried in the grave of our fathers in the Church and Commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors,

It is therefore ordered, That every township in this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to write and read, whose wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those that order the prudentials of the town shall appoint: *Provided*, Those that send their children be not oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught for in other towns; and

It is further ordered, That where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families or householders, they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university: *Provided*, That if any town neglect the performance hereof above one year, that every such town shall pay five pounds to the next school till they shall perform this order.

Not the basis of a public-school system. Into the provisions of this act, which the other New England colonies except Rhode Island copied in whole or in part and from which they built up their further educational legislation, strange meanings have been tortured. It has been claimed that here are the beginnings of those secular features which now characterize the American school system. In no American sense, however, does this appear to be a provision for public schools. The authority asserted was that of the Puritan congregation, which was identical with the state but was more powerful than it. Until 1691 no person who

was not a member of that church could vote in Massachusetts, and few there were who voted. They levied taxes on all to support ministers of their own faith, and under the law of 1647 they revealed their zeal to preserve and extend that faith by imposing the Puritan creed upon the children. The devil must be outwitted, and the dangers of "saint-seeming deceivers," whether Catholic or Anglican, must be averted. The control of the schools established under this law was ecclesiastical and not secular, the teachers were ministers or were approved by the ministers under the strictest vigilance as to orthodoxy, and the materials of instruction were religious.

Probably nowhere in colonial education is the sectarian, or religious, motive for schools more clearly exhibited than in this act, which grew out of the extreme religious consciousness of Calvinism. It is difficult to see in it the beginnings of free, compulsory, and secular schools. The wages of the teacher were to be paid by the parents or the masters of the children "or by the inhabitants in general." There is significance also in the innocent word "or" in this act, as is so often the case when it is used in legislation today. The parents were not compelled to send their children to school. The word "shall" was directed not to the parents but to the towns, which were difficult to arrest and fine.

The law not popular. This law, strong in purpose but weak in execution, was not in high favor among the people. It seems to have been more largely disregarded than obeyed. Significance may be attached to the fact that the original fine of five pounds was increased in 1671 to ten and in 1683 to twenty, and that near the close of the century there was official complaint from the legislature that the law was "shamefully neglected by divers towns." The requirement for grammar schools was not generally met. In 1700, when there were twenty-seven such schools in New England, there were eighty-one towns in Massachusetts alone, though

the size of their population is unknown. Seven years later the list of polls given in by twenty towns in Middlesex County showed that nine had more than a hundred families, but only five had attempted to conform with the law, and only four had succeeded in establishing grammar schools. The general unwillingness of the public to support the schools financially may help to explain in part the scarcity of schoolmasters by the end of the seventeenth century. Special favors to make up in part for low wages were often offered teachers, who in 1692 were exempted from taxes, a year later from military duty, and in the last year of the century from the watch.

The theological purpose of the law. The object of education under this legislation was theological, and theology was the principal use made of it. The devotion of New England to education under the leadership of men like Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, James G. Carter and many others, in the nineteenth century, has been fruitful for the cause of schools and learning in the United States. Many are the educational trails which lead finally to that part of this country. But it may be seriously questioned whether the "old deluder" act was not an obstacle instead of an aid to free, universal, secular education. Its influence on the people was narrowing rather than broadening, for there were few books that were not theological and little intellectual stimulus except that which came from the severe sermons of stern Calvinists. Preoccupation with all the brutal beliefs that went to make up the epic of Calvinism extended the strength of priestcraft, which banished men for opposing the official theology of the time and made strict the censorship of the press. Sectarianism could not enlighten the minds of the masses. Instead it served to fill the way of public schools with difficulties which had to be removed two centuries later by men like Mann, who was fought by sectarian preachers and bitter ecclesiastics, and

by the religious press, which tore into him because he believed in the justice of religious toleration. The dead hands of the past bore heavily upon education in Massachusetts even in his day.

Educational decline and the district school. The passage of the Massachusetts act of 1647 was followed by a period of educational decline in that colony. Before the end of the century some of the conditions which in the earlier period had forced the colonists to live in compact village communities had been removed. King Philip's War, which extended widely over New England, greatly depleted the resources of the colonists, but the victory served to remove their timidity and encouraged them to take up settlements in more remote parts of the townships. The danger of attack by the Indians was now no longer so great. In the frontier regions younger people began to make new settlements which lacked the definite centers characteristic of the older communities. Separate churches came to be established, and the new settlements came slowly to gain local self-government and other privileges somewhat similar to those of the older centers. It was natural that the control of schools by the central township authority should weaken.

The wane of Calvinistic despotism. Meantime the complete domination of the unified and bigoted Calvinism of the early period was losing its hold. Puritan churches split up into factions on questions of admission to membership or through other dissensions. Other sects began to establish places of worship; and the persecution of Baptists, Quakers, Episcopalians, and other Protestant groups was gradually abandoned under the slow and painful growth of religious toleration. The Puritan ideal was dimming. Calvinistic despotism was gradually breaking down.

Intellectual decline. During these years of change there was a gradual intellectual decline. The original settlers, many of whom had had advantages of education in Eng-

land, had now passed away. Scores of graduates of English universities had settled in New England by the middle of the seventeenth century. Most of them had become ministers and had been eager to promote religion. One of their fears was that an illiterate ministry would appear when "our present ministers should lie in the dust," and to recruit the thinning ranks of the clergy was one purpose of the act of 1647. But the younger generation lacked the zeal and fervor of their fathers.

Some towns had established schools before they were ordered in 1647 to do so, but afterwards the tricks which some of them used to evade the law developed into a high art. Often the local minister was engaged to serve as the nominal schoolmaster, and not infrequently a teacher would be hired only while the legislature was in session. However, when the fine for violation became large enough to support a teacher, it was less expensive to hire one than to violate the law. Then the people living in the more distant portions of the township demanded that the school should be brought near them, and out of this demand arose the moving school, and out of this in turn grew the district school.

The growth of localism. By the middle of the eighteenth century the division of townships into districts was common in New England. In 1789 Massachusetts officially recognized the practices of a century and legalized the small school district. Nearly a decade earlier Thomas Jefferson had proposed the district system as a part of his plan "for a more general diffusion of knowledge" among the people of Virginia. There as elsewhere the local neighborhood school had already become a social convenience which fitted in well with the democratic theory of government. The district system of schools, to be controlled by the local community and to be supported as the people desired — by tuition, by "rate bills," by local taxes, or by any other means at hand — was to spread to all parts of the United

States and, from a simple neighborhood convenience, was to become a stubborn political institution in which local jealousies and disputes over the selection of school committeemen, of teachers, and even of the sites for schoolhouses were to rankle and inflame. The defiant spirit of the frontier and the assertion of local rights in education were to become an obstacle to education, and even today the ghost of the district lingers in the path of rural-school progress.

Colonial schools established at random. The more or less random establishment of schools was characteristic of most of the colonies outside Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, and even the attempt of these colonies to provide schools on a systematic plan was not successful. Outside New England there was little evidence of educational interest on the part of colonial legislatures. In Rhode Island, with its doctrine of religious freedom, the slow growth of the colony, and the existence of slavery, no general school legislation was enacted during the colonial period. However, it is claimed that Newport established a school by popular vote in 1640 and set aside some land to support a school for "the poorer sort"; and Providence in 1663 reserved lands for the maintenance of a town school. Parochial schools, which grew out of the social traditions of Holland and the influence of the Dutch Reformed Church, were established in New York before England took possession of that colony in 1674. These schools were supported and controlled jointly by the local church and civil authorities. After the English occupation New York made no definite advance toward a school system during the remainder of the colonial period.

A similar practice was followed in Pennsylvania, where the tolerant attitude of the Quaker government attracted Germans, Swedes, Scotch and Irish Presbyterians, Dutch, English, and Welsh, and each of these groups was naturally interested in its own denominational schools. The Quakers,

through their yearly meetings, encouraged the establishment of elementary and, in some cases, secondary schools near their meetinghouses. Other religious sects, such as the Lutherans, did likewise. In New Jersey, where a similar practice developed, educational advantages came chiefly through the church or through private effort. Generally in these colonies much freedom was allowed the local communities, and each parochial group did practically as it wished.

Early educational effort in Delaware was local and was made through the encouragement of various religious bodies, such as the Swedes, the Dutch, and the English. At the beginning the Swedish authorities ordered that the patrons of the colony of Delaware should "support at all times as many ministers and schoolmasters as the number of inhabitants shall require." It seems that education, which was under private and church control, was not neglected. In 1744 the legislature of the colony confirmed the earlier gifts of lots and houses for school purposes. Here, as in other middle and Southern colonies, schools arose during the colonial period as local neighborhood and social conveniences.

Before the close of the seventeenth century Maryland made an unsuccessful legislative effort to establish schools in every county. In 1723 provision was made for a county system of free high schools, and county trustees were appointed to manage the schools, in which a certain number of poor children were to be taught free of tuition; but the plan later failed for lack of funds. During the first quarter of the eighteenth century South Carolina undertook to establish a school in each parish and also to establish a county system of schools, the cost to be assessed on the lands and slaves of each jurisdiction. Ten poor children were to be received free of charge in each school. Near the middle of the eighteenth century North Carolina authorized the town authorities in Edenton to build a schoolhouse,

the expense of which was to be defrayed by money arising from the sale of town lots and from donations and 'subscriptions, but there, as in most of the colonies, educational effort was left largely to local community interest.

The idea of charitable education was strong in Georgia because of the philanthropic motives of its settlement. In addition to sporadic efforts here and there, schools were maintained by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which promoted educational work in other Anglican colonies; and when Georgia became a royal province about 1752 the crown promised to continue the allowance which had hitherto been made by the trustees of the colony for the support of a minister and two schoolmasters. This agreement was maintained until the Revolution and seems to be the only case of educational support in the colonies by the Parliament of England.

The Latin grammar school. Among the earliest schools in most of the colonies were those of the Latin-grammar-school type, which grew out of the influence of the Renaissance and the Reformation and were patterned on the Latin grammar school of England. This type of school appeared in all the colonies except Georgia, but probably reached its greatest development in New England.

The earliest attempt to establish a school in any of the colonies was aided in 1621 by a shipload of merchants from the East Indies. The proposal was to build a Latin grammar school in Virginia, but the Indian massacre of 1622 and the collapse of the Virginia Company caused the project to fail. In 1634 or 1635 Benjamin Symms left valuable property to establish a school in Virginia, and a few years later the Symms will was confirmed by the legislature. The school founded on this endowment has been called "the earliest foundation for free education made in English America by a citizen of an English colony." Symms's example was followed shortly afterwards by Thomas Eaton, of the same

county in Virginia, who gave five hundred acres of land and other property as the foundation for a free school similar to that provided by Symms. Both of these schools seem to have had creditable careers. In 1850 they were united and incorporated as Hampton Academy, and the endowment is still preserved separate from the school fund of the state. These schools became models for other communities in Virginia, and others of a similar character were established in that colony shortly after the middle of the seventeenth century.

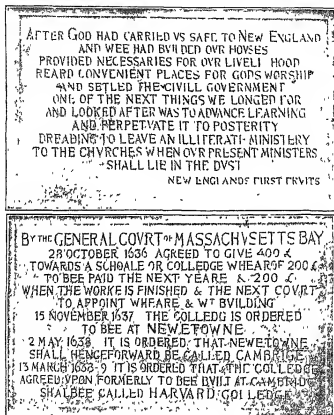
The first successful attempt to establish a Latin grammar school in this country was made in Boston in 1635 from funds subscribed by forty-five contributors. The chief purpose of this school, which was the principal school in Boston for nearly half a century, was to prepare boys for Harvard. In it Ezekiel Cheever, with a record of seventy years of faithful teaching in New England, taught for thirty years. Latin grammar schools also appeared in other places in Massachusetts, where it is presumed the act of 1647, which required a grammar school in every town having a hundred families, stimulated their development. They appeared in other neighboring colonies, which copied the laws of Massachusetts, and by 1700 there were at least twenty-seven in New England. But the laws requiring Latin grammar schools seem not to have been fully met. The list of Harvard graduates between 1644 and 1770 shows that some New England towns which were credited with grammar schools had not sent any students to that college, though some students (presumably prepared by ministers) had entered Harvard from communities which had no such schools.

Characteristics of Latin grammar schools. The Latin grammar schools, which were exclusive, were not popular even in New England, where they were most numerous. They were generally planned, supported, and managed by

the classes and not in the interest of the masses. The students paid tuition fees. The chief aim of the curriculum, which was almost exclusively narrow, in most cases confined entirely to a study of Latin and Greek, and modified but little if at all during the century and a half of the grammar-school period, was to teach boys to read and write Latin and possibly to speak it. The original purpose of these schools, preparation for college, was held to steadfastly. The growth of the grammar schools was often uncertain, however, and attendance on them gradually dwindled because they failed to meet the increasing social needs of the time. Local conditions often rendered inoperative the grammar-school requirements of such legislation as that of Massachusetts in 1647. Moreover, the district school was slowly developing and destroying the central authority, which existed or was presumed to exist when that law was enacted. Few grammar schools survived at the end of the eighteenth century, when a new type of secondary school, the academy, more democratic and more suitable to social needs, was springing up almost everywhere in the United States. The growth of the academy (Chapter XIII) was probably in part both the cause and the result of the failure of the Latin grammar school.

Colonial colleges. By 1769 there were nine colleges in the colonies. Philanthropy was the mother of all of them, and the religious motive was strong in the establishment of all except one, the College of Philadelphia, which grew out of Franklin's Academy and into the University of Pennsylvania. The others were proposed and fostered by college men (there were many graduates of Oxford and Cambridge in New England in the early colonial period, and graduates of these universities served as teachers and ministers in Virginia also), but this institution sprang from the liberal mind and labor of a man who had never bowed the knee to collegiate traditions.

Harvard, the earliest of them all, was authorized by legislative act of Massachusetts in 1636, and two years later it received money, books, and a name from John Harvard.



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TABLETS ON THE GATEWAY OF HARVARD, SHOWING EARLY RECORDS
OF THE FIRST COLLEGE IN THIS COUNTRY

It opened under the auspices of the Puritan faith and for the purpose of training preachers. The College of William and Mary was established in Virginia in 1693, under the auspices of the Established (Anglican) Church, as a "seminary

of ministers of the gospel." Yale, also under Puritan auspices, was founded in Connecticut in 1701 by graduates of Harvard and later received its present name from Elihu Yale, who made bequests to it. The College of New Jersey, now known as Princeton, was established in 1746 under Presbyterian influence. The work of William Tennent and his "Log College" led to its founding. Jonathan Edwards was chosen as the first president, but died shortly afterwards.

The Academy and College of Philadelphia grew out of interest created by a pamphlet by Benjamin Franklin on "Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania" (1749). Instruction began two years later, and the institution was chartered by the Penns in 1753. It owed allegiance to no religious denomination, and differed from the other colleges also in a scientific and secular instead of the classical program of studies. King's College (Columbia) was established in New York under the auspices of the Anglican Church in 1754. Its first funds came from a lottery. Brown University in Rhode Island began in 1764 under Baptist influence, Rutgers in New Jersey in 1760 under the auspices of the Dutch Reformed Church, and Dartmouth in New Hampshire in 1769 under religious and missionary if nonsectarian influences. The course of study in all these colleges, except Pennsylvania, was confined mainly to Greek and Latin, sometimes Hebrew, logic after Aristotle, some elementary mathematics, and bits of natural science.

Franklin's perspective. Even Franklin's proposed liberal course, with mathematics, surveying, navigation, physics, chemistry, agriculture, natural history, government, history, civics, modern languages, and the like, was forced to submit to compromise and revision, and it also fell (in part at least) into the narrow and traditional mold. But there is significance in the fact that the idea of an enlightened and advanced program of higher learning came from a self-educated man who loved useful learning, "truth for truth's

sake," and sought to find and accept it himself and to "communicate it to others." Many years were to pass before Franklin's perspective for higher education was to be gained in the United States.

Perhaps more important in the educational history of the United States than the founding of any of the colleges was the famous Dartmouth College case, which grew out of the attempt of the legislature of New Hampshire between 1815 and 1819 to discontinue the college and establish in its place another institution under different control. Out of the case, bitterly fought through the Supreme Court of the United States, came the decision that a charter is a contract the obligation of which a legislature cannot impair. The principle of law evolved in the case, notable also for the argument of Daniel Webster, a distinguished graduate of Dartmouth, gave peculiar protection to private property, guaranteed the perpetuity of endowments, and stimulated the establishment of private and denominational colleges. The decision in effect determined that higher education in this country could not become a monopoly of the state.

Educational endowments. Examples of colonial endowments for schools, which began with Symms in Virginia and with Harvard in Massachusetts, were fairly numerous in the eighteenth century, especially in the South. One of the most important of such bequests was that of Richard Beresford, who left a large sum of money in 1722 for educational purposes in St. Thomas's Parish in South Carolina. The school was continued until the Revolution, when it was interrupted and its funds lost in part, but it was later reopened and continued until the Civil War. Resuming its work still later, the school had a healthy career until near the close of the nineteenth century.

The Winyaw Indigo Society. In addition to the philanthropy of individuals, certain societies in the Southern colonies also promoted education. One of the most novel

of these was the Winyaw Indigo Society, which was founded in South Carolina about 1740. This society, which was formed largely as a "convivial club" by certain planters who met in Georgetown on the first Friday in each month to discuss the latest London news, "to hold high discourse over the growth and prosperity of the indigo plant, and to refresh the inner man, and so to keep up to a proper standard the endearing ties of social life by imbibing freely of the inevitable bowl of punch," cannot be pointed to as the origin of present-day luncheon and civic clubs. However, the manner by which it became interested in education suggests the youthful enthusiasms of present-day organizations. When the exchequer from initiation fees and annual contributions "became plethoric of gold" and the "hearts of our founders overflowed with the milk of human kindness . . . , it became the question of the hour, to what good purpose shall we devote our surplus funds?"

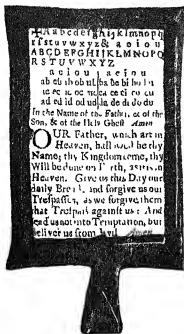
As the tale runs, at the close of the discussion (which was very brief but pertinent and solid) the presiding officer requested the members to fill their glasses. He would close the debate with a definite suggestion, and each member who indorsed it would signify his approval by emptying his glass. Then the chairman made a speech. He held that there "may be intellectual food" which some people may not be fit to partake of, and to set such before them would be "as absurd as to give a quadrant to an Indian." But he also believed that knowledge was as necessary as light and should be as common as water and as free as air. "It has been wisely ordered," he said, "that light should have no color, water no taste, and air no odor; so, indeed, knowledge should be equally pure and without admixture of creed or cant. I move, therefore, that the surplus funds in the treasury be devoted to the establishment of an independent charity school for the poor." The meeting rose to its feet, and the glasses were all turned down "without soiling the

linen." In this manner began the society's school, which for more than a hundred years served all the country lying between Charleston and the North Carolina line.

From 1756 until 1861 the school had a very successful career, and twenty-five or more children were annually educated in it. The annual dues of the members of the society, private benefactions, and the proceeds of escheated lands greatly increased the available income, and many poor children were maintained as well as educated. The trustees allowed the principal to receive a certain number of pay scholars in addition to the pupils for whom the school was originally designed, and for teaching these he was allowed extra compensation. The school became well known and widely patronized, but the Civil War practically destroyed the value of the invested funds. For more than a year the school building was occupied by the Federal troops. The library was scattered, and some of the books were never recovered. When the organization was allowed possession of the building again, funds were raised as a beginning of a new endowment, and the work of the school continued from 1866 to 1886, during which time it educated ten poor children annually. At the latter date it was incorporated as one of the public graded schools of South Carolina.

Bethesda Orphan House. The most notable example of educational effort in Georgia before it acquired statehood was the work of the Bethesda Orphan House, suggested by Charles Wesley and established by George Whitefield and James Habersham in 1739. Whitefield secured a large tract of land from the trustees of the colony and was also successful in soliciting funds. His eloquent plea induced Benjamin Franklin to empty his pockets to aid the enterprise, as is learned from the "Autobiography." This institution, in which orphans and poor children were maintained and educated, served a useful purpose. After Whitefield

failed in 1764 to secure the permission of the crown to change his school into a "seminary of literature and academical learning," he undertook to convert it into an academy similar to Franklin's in Philadelphia; but the plan failed, and Whitefield died without ever fully realizing the favorite ambition of his life.



A HORNBOOK, FROM WHICH CHILDREN LEARNED THE ALPHABET AND HOW TO READ

The dame school. The dame school, which was transplanted to this country at the time of the early settlements, was usually taught by a woman in her kitchen or living-room. Here the young children of the neighborhood were taught the alphabet, the hornbook, the elements of reading, and moral and religious subjects. In New England this type of school prepared boys for admission to the town schools, which did not receive them until they could "stand up and read words of two syllables and keep their places." The dame school helped to suggest the idea of the moving school and probably fur-

nished an example for the district school. It was a private and local neighborhood arrangement, or it was semipublic and recognized by the town authorities and sometimes assisted by them, or it was entirely public, especially in the summer season. It grew out of the family responsibility of teaching children the rudiments of learning. Not infrequently a woman in teaching her own children would include other

children in the neighborhood. Tuition fees were generally charged in the private and semipublic dame schools.

The education of women neglected. It was many years after the establishment of the first school in the colonies before girls were given equal educational opportunity with boys. The domestic duties of girls demanded little instruction beyond the rudiments of reading and writing, practical



AN ENGLISH DAME SCHOOL

After a drawing by Barclay

feminine skills were acquired by imitation generally in the home, and propriety forbade the training of girls outside. Women were expected to stick to their knitting and not to meddle in "such things as are proper for men, whose minds are stronger," as Governor Winthrop declared. They received their education in the family, in the dame school, in private schools, by tutors, and later by separate instruction given by the local schoolmaster. Sometimes, by special action, girls were admitted to town schools in New England, but often only for half time. The educational rights of women were tardily recognized.

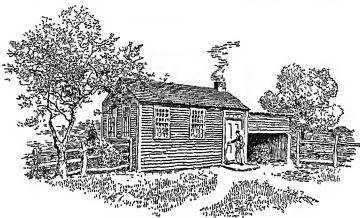
Evening schools. In the late seventeenth century and during the eighteenth century evening schools were established in some of the cities. These schools were private in support and control and were intended for those whose occupations prevented attendance upon day schools. It appears that they were open to any people who believed that they could benefit by the instruction. Advertisements



CORNER OF AN OLD SCHOOLHOUSE, SHOWING ITS MEAGER EQUIPMENT

in newspapers and the indentures of apprenticeship reveal many of these schools in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Charleston. More than one hundred indentures in New York City during the years 1698 and 1727 referred to the practice of sending apprentices to such schools. Evening schools were usually conducted in the winter season, but sometimes in other seasons as well, and generally through terms of three months. Some of the teachers, "respectable members of the teaching profession of the period," were graduates of the colonial colleges. Many of them taught

private day schools also, and some who were engaged to teach 'community schools were given permission to conduct night schools as private enterprises. Some of the schools were open to girls and women only, and some to both sexes, but the students in most of them were boys and men. The courses of study ranged from the rudiments of an English education to foreign languages and higher mathematics, and included also commercial subjects, surveying, navigation, geography,

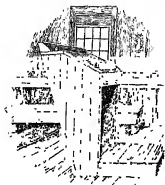


AN OLD DISTRICT SCHOOLHOUSE

astronomy, map-making, conic sections, "French quilting, knotting for bed quilts," Dresden work, flowering, and shading on "cambrick, lawn, and Holland."

Materials and methods. School sessions in the colonial period were usually long. In some communities they continued from seven o'clock in the morning until five in the afternoon in the spring and summer months; from August to December the hours were from eight to four. In New Haven in 1684 the school kept nine hours a day for six days a week in the summer season, but for a somewhat shorter period in the winter. The intermission in the middle of the day was often used in New England, especially on Monday,

for the purpose of assembling the children to be examined on the sermon the day before and to enable the master to take notice of any mischief which the children may have been guilty of on the Sabbath.



TEACHER'S DESK IN A COLONIAL
SCHOOLHOUSE

Colonial school-teachers were generally schoolmasters, and in many cases they were ministers. Those who taught in the Latin grammar schools were often well educated for the time, were orthodox in religious faith, and not infrequently were capable as teachers. The teachers in neighborhood schools were not always men of education, and some of them were not strong in character. Wherever they

taught, all of them, except the private teachers, were licensed by the church or other authority, principally upon evidence of orthodoxy. Methods of instruction were usually individual and often very wasteful, school equipment was meager, unhygienic, and insanitary, and the materials of instruction were



SCHOOLHOUSE ERECTED IN DEDHAM, MASSACHUSETTS, ABOUT 1649

for the most part religious. Textbooks before the American Revolution were English in origin. Hornbooks, primers, the psalm book, and the Bible were most commonly used. Secular textbooks did not appear until near the Revolutionary period.

The New England Primer, the most famous of all the early books, illustrates the religious character and purpose of colonial education. This little book, which appeared about 1690, was widely used for more than a century, going through many editions. Spellers or spelling books began to make their way into the schools near the middle of the eighteenth century, and became popular with the appearance of Noah Webster's blue-backed speller, which appeared in 1783.

Printing presses and newspapers. Interest in cultural and educational agencies is somewhat reflected in the establishment of printing presses and newspapers. The printing press was permanently set up in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New York before the close of the

seventeenth century and in the other colonies between 1709 (Connecticut) and 1762 (Georgia). The earliest newspapers appeared as follows: the *Boston News-Letter* at Boston in 1704, the *American Weekly Mercury* at Philadelphia in 1719, the *New York Gazette* at New York in 1725, the *Maryland Gazette* at Annapolis in 1727, the *Rhode Island Gazette* at Newport in 1732, the *South Carolina Gazette* at Charleston in 1732, the *Virginia Gazette* at Williamsburg in 1736, the *Connecticut Gazette* at New Haven in 1755, the *North Carolina*



In Adam's Fall
We sinned all.

Thy Life to mend,
This Book attend.

The Cat doth play,
And after flay.

A Dog will bite
A Thief at Night.

An Eagle' flight
Is out of fight.

The idle Fool
Is whipt at School.

SPECIMEN PAGE FROM THE NEW ENGLAND
PRIMER, A FAMOUS OLD TEXTBOOK

Gazette at New Bern in 1751, the *New Hampshire Gazette* at Portsmouth in 1756, the *Wilmington Courant* at Wilmington, Delaware, in 1762, the *Georgia Gazette* at Savannah in 1763, and the *New Jersey Gazette* at Burlington in 1777.

The severity of discipline. "What must become of you if you are wicked?" To this question in Isaac Watts's "Young Child's Catechism," a part of which was intended for children three or four years old, was this dismal response: "If I am wicked, I shall be sent down to everlasting fire in Hell among wicked and miserable creatures."

The prevailing colonial view of the character of children is seen also in Michael Wigglesworth's "Day of Doom," which appeared in 1662. The book went through many editions, was printed upon "broadside and hawked about the country," and became the best seller for a century. As late as the early nineteenth century many people in New England could repeat large parts of it. In this poetical description of the last judgment and discourse about eternity, unbaptized infants who had died in babyhood are condemned. They beg for mercy, pleading that they should not be blamed for the sins of Adam, and from the judge, burlesqued by Wigglesworth into a "pettifogging country justice," they hear:

You sinners are, and such a share
As sinners may expect,
Such you shall have; for I do save
None but my own elect.
Yet to compare your sin, with their
Who lived a longer time,
I do confess yours so much less
Tho' every sin's a crime.
A crime it is, therefore in bliss
You may not hope to dwell;
But unto you, I shall allow
The easiest room in Hell.

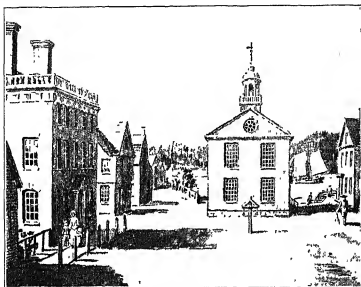
Nothing illustrates more definitely the brutality of the time than the manner of disciplining children, both in and out of school. Cruel punishments, sanctioned by the past, were the rule everywhere. Whipping posts were not uncommon in the schoolroom or close by. Boys were looked upon as children of wrath, and old Adam must be beaten out of them. This theory was encouraged by theology and the theologians. Even Martin Luther suggested appropriate beatings as useful restraints upon impudence and as an aid to learning. The same church which blessed a union in matrimony viewed its offspring as sinful, to be regenerated by the rod of religiosity and revenge. The severity of the Mosaic law could be invoked against the disobedient child. Under the laws of New England even young people of sixteen could be put to death for striking or smiting their parents. The iron creed of Puritanism adjudged incorrigibility "a sin of death."

The penal code brutal. Moreover, as noted in Chapter IV, the penal code of the time was not a model for gentleness. Branding, public whippings, the pillory, the stocks, were common penalties, and capital punishment could be inflicted for scores of crimes. Thomas Sargent, a Harvard student, convicted in 1674 of speaking blasphemous words, was publicly beaten in the library before all the scholars; but the solemn punishment was preceded and followed by prayer by the president, under whose supervision it was inflicted. He had learned to be gentle perhaps from the misfortune of the first head of Harvard, Nathaniel Eaton, who was dismissed for cruelly whipping students, "giving



A SCHOOLROOM WHIPPING POST

them twenty to thirty stripes at a time," and for beating his assistant in an inhuman manner. Ardent and narrow religionists believed that those who held heretical opinions should suffer death. If the proposed laws of that hard-headed defender of orthodoxy, John Cotton, had been adopted in 1641, any unpleasant critics of magistrates



A WHIPPING POST OUTSIDE A SCHOOLHOUSE IN SALEM, MASSACHUSETTS,
ABOUT 1768

From a water color by Dr. Orne in the collection of the Essex Institute

would have settled with the hangman. Capital punishment by barbarous methods was often inflicted. Teachers were often slaves, and were advertised, bought, and sold as other commodities. Slaves could be beaten lawfully by their masters, and were not teachers the masters of the children and privileged to beat them at will?

The rights of childhood not yet established. The rights of childhood could not be held in high regard in a community

which forbade joyousness, prohibited whistling on the Sabbath, and where all æsthetic pleasures were considered reprehensible. Even singing was so frowned upon in New England that only a few tunes were in general use in the seventeenth century. The laugh of the child was not allowed in the land. It should be kept in mind, however, that managing a school in those days was a difficult task which demanded much muscle. Timid masters were often turned out by the big and brawny boys who afflicted the educational life of almost every community. And when two or three had been turned out in succession the school came to be known as hard. Cases of insubordination of pupils or of teachers who were unable to get and keep the mastery were very common. Scores of schools in Massachusetts were broken up by such causes as late as 1837, and there is no reason to believe that discipline was a more difficult problem in one section of the country than in another.

The brief description which this chapter contains of early educational practices in this country shows, as was pointed out in Chapter IV, that conditions in the American colonies were generally not favorable to the development of the finer elements of civilized life among the masses. The belief that education should be controlled by the Church continued as a part of the English heritage. The religious motives for schools continued to dominate, localism remained strong, and the ideals of the leaders of the period were strongly aristocratic. The beginnings of a democratic school system are not easy to find in any educational theory or practice of the colonial period. Slight promise of such a system was made here and there, however, during the Revolution and after it; but the promise of that period was largely unfulfilled, as the following chapter indicates.

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QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Consider any practices or problems of education today which had their origin in colonial or earlier conditions

2. Make a list of the evidences of interest in educational and cultural matters in the colonies

3. Account for the fact that the colonial assemblies, or legislatures, gave little or no attention to education.

4. Compare or contrast the Latin grammar school of the colonial period with a modern public high school.

5. Compare or contrast education in the colonial times and now in (1) aim, (2) curriculum, (3) methods of teaching, (4) financial support, (5) management and control, and (6) preparation, certification, and salaries of teachers.

6. Examine the early legislation and records on apprenticeship in your state for (1) purpose, (2) the plan of operation, and (3) the extent of the apprenticeship practices

7. Examine the court records of your county for any peculiar examples of the apprenticeship system

8. Consider the organized public agencies now in operation in your state to do the work which was left in colonial times to the poor-law and apprenticeship practices.

9. Analyze the Massachusetts law of 1647 and criticize the interpretation given on pages 105-107.

10. Trace the evolution of the district-school system from a simple and local neighborhood convenience of the early days to the stubborn institution which it later became and has remained.

11. Compare or contrast any one of the early colonial colleges with the same institution today.

12. Why was the education of women so long neglected in this country?

13. Make a study of (1) libraries, (2) newspapers, and (3) book-sellers in any one of the colonies

14. Explain the severity of discipline in the early schools.

15. Compare the purposes and activities of a modern high school with the purposes and activities of a CCC camp.

16. What criticism does Morison's *The Puritan Pronaos*, listed in "References and Readings" for this chapter, make of the point of view set forth in this chapter on the Massachusetts school law of 1647?

17. What effect did the GI Bill of Rights have on the colleges in your state?

18. How many colleges are there in the United States today? How many in your state? How many of those in your state are publicly supported and controlled? How many are privately supported and controlled?

19. What higher educational institutions in your section of the country have membership in the Association of American Universities?

CHAPTER VI

THE PROMISE OF A NEW PERIOD

Outline of the chapter. 1. During the early national period the exacting conditions of frontier life served to lower intellectual and educational standards among the people.

2. Schools were the dreams of theorists. Interest in education as an activity of the state was not wide. The Federal Constitution was silent on the subject, and state-constitutional provisions for schools were vague.

3. Evidence of educational interest was reflected in the views of national leaders and in the Northwest Ordinances.

4. Discussions of the function of education increased after the Revolution, and plans for school systems were proposed under the influence of the American Philosophical Society. The plans by Benjamin Rush and Robert Coran are significant in American educational history, but these advanced views of public education were not caught by the governing authorities of the period.

5. The theory of education as an activity of the state probably received its strongest support in the work of Thomas Jefferson, but even his own commonwealth failed to respond to his appeal for schools.

6. There was promise in the new and strange social forces of the period; but decades were to pass and many obstacles had to be removed before the democratic theory of education could be practically and fully applied in the American states.

During the early years of the national period the people of the United States lived for the most part under rural conditions. For most of them isolation reigned, and shut off interests upon which community coöperation was essential. There were few towns and cities, and most of these were in the Northern states, Philadelphia leading in size with a population of 42,000 in 1790. New York had 32,000, Boston 18,000, and Baltimore 13,000. Richmond, the largest center in Virginia (which was the largest state of all, with a population of 747,000), had less than 4000 people.

North Carolina had not a town of 2000 people. Charleston had a population of 15,000. Savannah was still a tiny place. Next to Virginia came Pennsylvania with 434,000 people, North Carolina with 393,000, Massachusetts with 378,000, and New York with 340,000. In all the states the population numbered about 3,929,000, one fifth of whom were negroes and most of whom lived in the open country. The Potomac divided the total population into halves. Increase in population was largely by birth, for immigration had been cut off by the war. During these years the estimated annual increase by immigration was about 4000, and it did not become much larger until after the War of 1812.

Conditions unfavorable for education. Life in the United States in the last decades of the eighteenth century was full of struggles, dangers, and deprivations. Men of means had comfortable houses, but the poorer people lived in rude structures. The means of transportation and of communication were meager. Traveling was by large wagons called stagecoaches, which could do only from four to five miles an hour over the best roads, and roads were usually not good. Travelers depended for lodging and meals upon inns and taverns which were not always attractive. Religion, which had monopolized colonial thought, was slowly giving way to political discussions. But education was making little progress. The energies of the people, almost exhausted by war, were absorbed in more immediately pressing needs. Material recuperation seemed most urgent to the average American of the early national period, and material prosperity was not quick to manifest itself. Life was not full of hope and confidence. Demoralizing effects followed the war, which had left the states greatly impoverished and depleted and burdened with a debt of \$75,000,000. Commercial life was deadened, and agriculture was still primitive and unpromising. There were internal disputes and conflicts which developed a "critical period." In the minds of many people

there were grave doubts about the wisdom of independence and about the permanency of the new nation whose constitution, said John Quincy Adams, had been "extorted from the grinding necessities of a reluctant people." The exacting conditions of pioneer and frontier life served to lower intellectual and educational standards among the people rather than to raise them. There was but little time, opportunity, or means for schools, and education was forced into a temporary decline.

The dream of the theorist. Under such conditions schools could not flourish. Popular education was still the dream of the theorist and the reformer rather than the conviction of the great masses of the people or even of governing authorities. The need for education was not widely felt, and illiteracy was no reproach. Moreover, if there must be schools, said many thoughtful people, they should be established and maintained by the churches and by philanthropic individuals and societies, as had been the custom in colonial days. Education was still looked upon as a luxury for those who could afford it or as a charity for the poor. Free education for all at public expense was considered a visionary and impracticable undertaking. Many changes had to be made in the life of this country before a democratic school system could be established. Some of those changes were made during or shortly after the Revolutionary period, and others followed during the period which closed with the Civil War.

Before the Revolutionary War the colonists had in large part depended upon England for their laws and literature, their books and teachers, and their leaders in government and the church. After the struggle the people were thrown upon their own resources and were forced to depend on the new nation for leadership and ideals. Moreover, other influences were to appear. Democracy was to receive an impetus that had been impossible in colonial days. Those

of high birth and official station, those who had enjoyed special privilege and had taught the common people reverence for rank and subordination to social superiors, were now slowly to lose some of their influence to the growing power of the "filthy democrats." Inequalities were to decrease or disappear. The development of the immense material resources of the country was to be begun, and the foundation of greater social progress was to be made. The rich lands were to be taken up, roads and other means of transportation and communication were to be built, and commerce was to be established. These things preceded, as they do now, the spiritual and educational prosperity of the people. Meantime self-government, now to be given a trial, was also to become educative in character. New demands for schools, which came slowly to be viewed as necessary, were to arise out of new problems of public welfare.

Constitutional provisions vague. Interest in schools as a public necessity was not widespread. The Federal Constitution did not declare its purpose to promote either religion or education, but "to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity," — purposes which dealt with secular affairs, matters of this rather than of another world. Congress could not establish a state religion or the requirement of a religious test as a qualification for holding a Federal office. Religious qualifications for voting and for holding office were numerous, however, in state constitutions formed during this period. But in providing for religious freedom the Federal Constitution helped to lay the foundation for the later building of nonsectarian, free, publicly supported, and publicly controlled schools. A new state motive, to be substituted for the old religious motive for schools, involved state support and control of schools; the aim was education for all, to the end that

liberty and political equality might be preserved. Nor did the Constitution give attention to schools, but left educational matters to the states, by implication in the Tenth Amendment. Those which made constitutional provision for schools before 1800 were Pennsylvania and North Carolina in 1776, Georgia and Vermont in 1777, Massachusetts in 1780, New Hampshire in 1784, Vermont again in 1787, Pennsylvania again in 1790, Delaware in 1792, and Georgia again in 1798.

In none of these constitutions, however, were specific instructions given to the legislature concerning the establishment of schools. The vagueness of the language has been offered as one cause of the long delay by some of the states in providing for schools. The mandates seemed not to be specific. "The legislature shall, as soon as conveniently may be, provide by law . . . for establishing schools," said the constitution of Delaware. The constitution of Vermont said :

A school or schools shall be established in every town by the legislature, for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to the masters, paid by each town . . . to enable them to instruct youth at low prices. One grammar school in each county, and one university in this State ought to be established by direction of the General Assembly

The constitution of Pennsylvania said that "a school or schools shall be established in every county by the legislature, for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to the masters, paid by the public, as may enable them to instruct youth at low prices ; and all useful learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more universities." North Carolina copied this provision in its first constitution and continued it unchanged in the constitution of 1835. In 1790 Pennsylvania made the following constitutional provision, which was continued in its constitution of 1838: "The legislature shall, as soon as

conveniently may be, provide, by law, for the establishment of schools throughout the State in such manner that the poor may be taught gratis." Georgia in its first constitution said that "schools shall be erected in each county, and supported at the general expense of the State, as the legislature shall hereafter point out," and in its constitution of 1798 provided that "the arts and sciences shall be promoted in one or more seminaries of learning."

New Hampshire in its constitution of 1784 and again in 1792 held that "knowledge and learning generally diffused through a community being essential to the preservation of a free government, spreading the opportunities and advantages of education through the various parts of the country being highly conducive to promote this end, it shall be the duty of the legislature and magistrates, in all future periods of this government, to cherish the interest of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries and public schools." The constitution of Massachusetts of 1780 was likewise general in its provision for schools. After dwelling at length upon the activities of "our wise and pious ancestors," it declared that "wisdom and knowledge, as well as virtue, diffused generally among the body of the people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties . . . it shall be the duty of the legislature and magistrates, in all future periods of this commonwealth, to cherish the interest of literature and the sciences."

High-sounding statements of leaders. Evidence of educational interest was somewhat reflected in the views of many leaders of the time. Washington, in his first message to Congress, declared "that there is nothing which can better deserve your patronage than the promotion of science and literature. Knowledge is in every country the surest basis of public happiness." The "enlightened confidence of the people" was indispensable. Men must be taught to know and to value their rights and "to discern and provide

against invasions of them." And in his Farewell Address he urged the promotion of "institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge" and the enlightenment of public opinion. Jefferson had declared earlier in the preamble to his bill for public schools in Virginia, that the most effectual means of preventing the perversion of power into tyranny was through the illumination "of the minds of the people at large." That people will be happiest "whose laws are best and best administered," and these would be "wisely formed and honestly administered in proportion as those who form and administer them are wise and honest." He believed that public welfare depended upon the education of the people without regard to "wealth, birth, or other accidental condition or circumstance."

General Francis Marion, in a statement on the need for popular education in South Carolina, said :

God preserve our Legislature from penny wit and pound foolishness. What! Keep a nation in ignorance rather than vote a little of their own money for education! . . . What signifies this government, divine as it is, if it be not known and prized as it deserves? This is best done by free schools. Men will always fight for their government according to their sense of its value. To value it aright they must understand it This they cannot do without education.

But the "Swamp Fox" could not conclude without reference to the element of charity, which so long persisted in public education in the United States : "And, as a large portion of the children are poor, and can never attain that inestimable blessing without the aid of government, it is plainly the duty of government to bestow it freely upon them."

John Jay, the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, declared "knowledge to be the soul of a Republic." Through education the weak and the wicked could be diminished in number, "and nothing should be

left undone to afford all ranks of people the means of obtaining a proper degree of it at a cheap and easy rate." James Madison believed that "popular government without popular information or the means of acquiring it" is the first step toward "a farce or a tragedy, or perhaps both." A people who intend to be "their own governors must arm themselves with the power which knowledge gives." John Adams declared that the instruction of the people for the proper practice of their moral duties as "men, citizens, and Christians, and of their political and civil duties as members of society and freemen" was a public responsibility which should extend to all, "of every rank and class of people, down to the lowest and the poorest." Schools for the education of all should be maintained at public expense. Before he finished his panegyric of public education he added, "Laws for the liberal education of youth, especially of the lower classes of people, are so extremely wise and useful that . . . no expense for this purpose would be thought extravagant."

The views of others. In other quarters also voices were raised in behalf of education. Tom Paine, who described the Revolutionary days as "the times that try men's souls," declared in his "Rights of Man" that in a properly governed nation none should be permitted to go uninstructed. Over in England Adam Smith, in his "Wealth of Nations" (which appeared in the year that America declared independence), held that it was a matter of State interest that the ranks of the people be instructed, to make them useful to society and to render them "less apt to be misled into any wanton or unnecessary opposition to the measures of government." He believed that an instructed and intelligent people are always more decent and orderly than those who are ignorant and stupid, and that the State had the right to provide education and make it compulsory.

Thomas Robert Malthus, English political economist, in "An Essay on the Principle of Population," argued that

"an instructed and well-informed people would be less likely to be led away by inflammatory writings" and much more able than an ignorant people "to detect the false declamation of interested and ambitious demagogues." He believed that the safety of society lay in education diffused among the people. Talleyrand, the Frenchman, to meet the provision of the constitution requiring the creation of a system of public instruction common to all citizens and free "in respect to those subjects of instruction that are indispensable to all men," was proposing to his government a school plan which recognized the new attitude toward education and accepted the theory that education is a function of the State and not of the Church. Condorcet, another Frenchman, who believed in the perfectibility of the human race, proposed to his government a school plan of great significance in support of the State theory of education. He maintained that the State should offer to all its people the "means of providing for their wants, of insuring their welfare, of knowing and exercising their rights, of knowing and fulfilling their duties," and of developing in everyone "to the fullest extent the talents which he has received from nature." In these statements appeared a new theory of education and a new motive for schools arising out of the theory of government by the people. Gradually there was to grow and develop the doctrine that education is a responsibility of the State and that schools are essential in a democratic government whose direction and operation depend upon the enlightenment of the people.

The Constitution of the United States silent on the subject. But the Constitution of the United States contained no mention of education; the subject was not debated, nor was it even seriously considered by the convention. The reasons are obvious. Schools were everywhere looked upon not as activities of the State but as functions of the Church, the family, or the individual. And

the men who framed the Constitution were products of the old aristocratic doctrine of education, of the theory that schools were intended for the leaders and for those who could afford the privilege of education. Moreover, weightier questions than those of schools engrossed the attention of the makers of the Constitution.

The Northwest Ordinances. But before the adoption of that document the Continental Congress had passed the Ordinance of 1785, which called for a survey of that territory lying between the Ohio and Mississippi rivers which had been surrendered to Congress by the states which had conflicting claims to it. In providing that the sixteenth lot of each township was to be reserved for the maintenance of schools, this ordinance laid the basis of land endowments which the new states, formed out of territory belonging to the Federal government, have received for education. In 1786 the Ohio Company, whose principal interest was in real estate, was organized in Boston by a group of New Englanders. Through spokesmen led by Manasseh Cutler, the company's shrewd representative, whose affable and easy manners gave him ready access to Congress, the Ohio Company bought a huge tract of the Northwest Territory. But the transaction was not easily made. The promoters met congressional indifference until they secretly agreed that influential members of Congress should share in the profits. In his personal journal Cutler wrote: "We obtained the grant of near five millions of acres, . . . one million and a half for the Ohio Company and the remainder for a private speculation, in which many of the principal characters of America are concerned," and he adds that without agreeing to the opportunity for speculation, "similar terms and advantages could not have been obtained for the Ohio Company."

Plan of administration. In the plan of administration provided by Congress in the Ordinance of 1787 for the gov-

ernment of the territory northwest of the Ohio, additional encouragement was given to the establishment of schools and the promotion of education. "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind," said one section of the ordinance, "schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged" in those states to be formed out of this domain. It was probably believed that this declaration would encourage settlement in the Northwest.

Ohio, in 1803, was the first state admitted to the Union from this territory. At that time Congress gave to the new state the sixteenth section of every township for the maintenance of schools within the township, on condition that the national lands lying within Ohio be exempted from taxation. This offer was continued in the case of other states formed from the Northwest Territory, and in every other state later admitted, except Texas, which owned its land, and Maine and West Virginia, which were formed from older states. Since 1850, when California was admitted, two sections of each township have been given for schools, except in the cases of Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico, which were allowed four sections because of the low value of the lands.

This early action of Congress may or may not have implied the purpose of the Federal government to participate in and aid education in the states. It may or may not support the arguments of the advocates of the measures before Congress in recent years which have had as their aims the creation of an educational secretaryship in the President's cabinet and definite aid by the national government to general education in the various states. The educational provision of the Northwest Ordinance may be viewed as an act of Federal benevolence or as Federal self-interest or as evidence of the gratitude of the national government to the sturdy pioneers who braved hardships in settling the frontier region. It may or may not be looked upon as a trick

of adroit real-estate dealers. Whatever the motive, however, it seems clear that this provision of the ordinance stimulated sentiment for schools and may have suggested to the older states the idea of permanent public funds for school purposes at a time when taxation for schools was not yet looked upon as a legitimate public obligation.

Advanced theories and plans. Discussions of the function of education greatly increased in this country as soon as the success of the movement for independence from England seemed assured. Educational theories as important parts of political theories formed another phase of the movement of liberalism and the revolt against tyranny and improperly constituted authority. Near the middle of the century Benjamin Franklin had published a plan for education from which an academy and later a college developed in Philadelphia. The American Philosophical Society, another result of Franklin's intellectual interests, began to concern itself with the peculiar problems which had arisen as a result of the Revolution. In the view of many members of this organization education formed one of the most important of those problems, and in an effort to help in the solution of it the society offered a prize "for the best system of liberal education and literary instruction, adapted to the genius of the government of the United States; comprehending also a plan for instituting and conducting public schools in this country, on principles of the most extensive utility."

Plans were offered by prominent men of the time as well as by others who are less well known to history. The best essays were submitted by Samuel Knox, a physician, minister, and school-teacher, head of an academy in Maryland, and Samuel H. Smith of Philadelphia. Other plans were prepared and published by Benjamin Rush, Robert Coram, James Sullivan, Nathaniel Chipman, Du Pont de Nemours, Lafitte du Courteil, and Noah Webster. Some

of these discussions contained descriptions of the extreme backwardness of education of the Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary periods; but their chief value in the history of American education appears in the advanced ideals and ideas and in the comprehensive plans which they suggested for education — universal and free, supported and controlled by the public, and open alike to girls and boys. The purpose and the content of education were also discussed with amazing insight at a time when neither received great attention.

Benjamin Rush, a colleague of Franklin, insisted that the youth of America have opportunity to study those things which will "increase the conveniences of life, lessen human misery, improve our country, promote population, exalt the human understanding, and establish domestic and political happiness." He expressed advanced views also on the education of women, and advocated provisions for the proper training of teachers and for liberal national support of schools. These theorists looked upon education as a function of the State, to be secured by government to every class of citizen and to every child in the State. "Education should not be left to the caprice or negligence of parents, to chance, or confined to the children of wealthy parents," declared Robert Coram. "It is a shame, a scandal to civilized society, that part only of the citizens should be sent to colleges and universities, to learn to cheat the rest of their liberties." The country districts should have as good schools as the towns. "If education is necessary for one man," he said, "my religion tells me that it is equally necessary for another." In his opinion equality of educational opportunity was a reasonable demand of democracy. But these fine views of education as a means of progress and for the service of all men were not caught by the governing authorities of the time. Owing in part to the deadliness of indifference, which has always acted upas-like upon new

suggestions for social reform, the proposals of these thinkers were to remain only the visions and theories which all except a few people considered them to be at the time.

The work of Jefferson. The theory of education as a function of the government, which was slow to appear and develop in this country, probably received its strongest support in the reform program which Thomas Jefferson



THOMAS JEFFERSON

An early advocate of education as a
function of the State

launched and in a measure achieved in Virginia during and immediately after the Revolutionary period. Although at first a movement of local character, certain phases of Jefferson's work had wide influence. Among the most effective reforms which he worked were the divorce of the Church and the State and the establishment of the rights of conscience, the abolition of entail and of primogeniture, the revision of

the laws, and the movement for public schools.

The Established Church was weakened in Virginia by a series of legislative enactments dealing with the religious question. These enactments began with the bill of rights, which contained a broad declaration of religious liberty and pronounced a decree of absolute divorce between the Church and the State. Within a few years the last vestige of the Established Church in Virginia was destroyed, persecution for religious causes ceased, and religious qualifications for civil office were abandoned. Entail and primogeniture were abolished, and the accumulation and perpetuation of enor-

mous wealth in the hands of a few families who had monopolized the honors of Virginia were prevented. The whole system of ancient laws and usages designed to prevent a distribution of wealth was soon to crash. With the abolition of primogeniture and the unequal distribution of inheritances, equal distribution of property among heirs was made possible, and feudalistic and dangerous tendencies were removed. A complete revision, or codification, was made of the Virginia laws, which included British usages and colonial acts from 1619 and were "a chaos of obsolete and antiquated enactments, good for lawyers, bad for clients."

Jefferson's faith in the people made him a strong supporter of public schools. He believed that the people were capable of self-government, that they meant well, and that they would act well whenever they understood. He was eager to enable them to understand through education and training, and accordingly he introduced a school bill into the legislature of Virginia.

Jefferson's school plan. This bill was one of the most definite and striking evidences of educational interest during the Revolutionary and early national periods. It was introduced two or three years after Jefferson had written the Declaration of Independence, and bore the title "A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge." Not only did it embody an advanced plan for schools for that state, but it was the first definite American proposal for a modern state school system and was prepared at a time when Jefferson saw his country shaken by one of the most important revolutions in history. He sought through this means to devise a plan to educate and prepare his countrymen for the opportunities of a new era which he believed to be dawning. In that plan he expressed the belief that, however heavy should be the sacrifices of the people to secure to their posterity the blessings of civil freedom, failure would end their efforts unless suitable provision should be made for the proper

education of their children. "If a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization," he said later, "it expects what never was and never will be." He believed that "ignorance and bigotry, like other insanities, are incapable of self-government," and that "no nation is permitted to live in ignorance with impunity." Jefferson would make Virginia great in science. "Preach, my dear sir," he wrote from France to a former teacher in Virginia, "a crusade against ignorance; establish and improve the law for educating the common people."

Provisions of the plan. The plan proposed was based on Jefferson's political theory of local self-government. It provided for a division of the counties into "hundreds," of such convenient size that all the children within each hundred could daily attend the school to be established in it. The voters of each division were to select the site for the schoolhouse, which was to be built and kept in repair by the three county aldermen, who were to be chosen by the qualified voters of the county. At each school all the free children, boys and girls, resident within the respective hundred were to receive free tuition for the term of three years "and as much longer, at their private expense, as their parents, guardians, or friends shall think proper." The subjects of reading, writing, and arithmetic were to be taught from books which would at the same time acquaint the children with Greek, Roman, English, and American history. A superintendent "eminent for his learning, integrity, and fidelity to the commonwealth" was to be appointed annually by the county aldermen to superintend every ten of these schools. His duties were to appoint teachers, to examine the pupils, and to visit and have general control over the schools. The salary of the teacher and all other expenses connected with each school were to be provided by the hundred in such manner as other county expenses were then by law directed to be provided.

In order to provide grammar or high schools convenient to the youth of every part of the state, the various counties were to be districted, two or more counties forming one district. In each district a high school was to be established and equipped with one hundred acres of land, a brick or stone house with necessary offices, "a room for the school, a hall to dine in, four rooms for a master and usher, and ten or twelve lodging rooms for the scholars." The expense of establishing and equipping these schools was also to be paid out of the public treasury. Latin and Greek, English grammar, geography, and the "higher parts of numerical arithmetic" were to constitute the curriculum. A visitor from each county composing the district was to be appointed by the overseers and to have powers over the grammar schools similar to the powers of the overseers over the primary schools.

Every overseer or superintendent of the elementary schools was to select from among the boys who had spent two years at one of the schools under his direction "one of the best and most promising in genius and disposition . . . without favor or affection," who was to be educated and boarded at the grammar school of his district for one, two, or more years, according to his "genius and disposition." Here Jefferson, as had Plato two thousand years earlier, anticipated the modern doctrine of individual differences. Those children whose parents were too poor to give them further education were to have preference. And here Jefferson voiced the prevalent view of the period and recognized the element of charity which has so long afflicted public education in the United States. The most promising ones of those who were advanced through the grammar schools were to be "educated, boarded, and clothed" three years at public expense at the College of William and Mary, which was also to be improved and enlarged. The strong features of this plan as well as its weaknesses are obvious

to the student of education today; but, viewed in the large, the proposal was advanced for the eighteenth century and shows the influence of the educational ideas of certain French revolutionists whom Jefferson greatly admired.

No favorable action. The legislature received the plan with some interest, but never acted on it. The confusion of the times and the heavy expense which the proposed system would have involved led to its defeat. Moreover, the matter of providing the schools which Jefferson here proposed was in the hands of the landed gentry, who were already provided with private schools and did not keenly feel the need of schools for others; therefore they were not likely to tax themselves for schools which they would not patronize. The absence of a strong middle class to support it helped also to bring failure to the plan.

To none of the many activities in which he engaged did Jefferson attach greater importance than to education. No man of the period had greater enthusiasm for education, and none more faith in its power for promoting the public weal. In his advocacy of public schools in a period when education of all forms and degrees was viewed solely as the concern of the Church and of private effort, he urged a bold and big extension of State activity. He would have a system of general instruction put within reach of "every description of our citizen, from the richest to the poorest." Education was one of the first of all public matters in which he took interest and it was also one of the last. At a time when they were without the means of instruction Jefferson voiced a faith in the masses of the people, whom he would free from ignorance, indigence, and oppression. To his program for education his civic oath gives meaning: "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man." His own commonwealth failed to respond fully to his appeal for schools before 1860, but in his last years he did realize in

the University of Virginia a part of his noble educational ideal: Not all American communities have yet gained Jefferson's full perspective for public education.

The significance of similar reforms elsewhere. Reforms similar to those of Jefferson in Virginia were being worked in other states also. Within a decade entails had been abolished in all the states except two (in which the practice of entails was not extensive), and within fifteen years every state had abolished the rule of primogeniture and all except four had placed girls upon an equal footing with boys in the division of inherited lands. The movement for the separation of the Church and the State and for religious freedom also gained strength. At the outbreak of the Revolution nine of the colonies had established churches, which enjoyed a religious monopoly supported by public taxation. Attacks were at once made upon these ecclesiastical establishments. Some surrendered slowly and stubbornly, but finally the disestablishment was completed in all the states; New Hampshire in 1817, Connecticut in 1818, and Massachusetts in 1833 were the last to submit to separation. Furthermore, elsewhere as well as in Virginia, the "light of reason" was turned upon the bloody and brutal legal practices which, borrowed from England, had given the colonies codes of cruelty and savagery. For twenty toilsome years Jefferson worked to soften the laws of Virginia, and similar reforms were made in the other states. However, during the Revolutionary period only slight changes were made in the qualifications for voting. The requirement of the ownership of property, which had dominated colonial theory and practice, prevailed in many states far into the national period, and survivals of it may even now be found in some of them. The absence of full manhood suffrage served to retard the growth of public education; but freedom of speech and freedom of the press were phases of the general movement of liberalism which served to place a new emphasis upon education.

The unfulfilled promise of the period. Viewed in the large, a more humane era was opening. There was promise in the new and strange social forces at work in the early national period. But for many years the noble doctrines of the Revolutionary movement were to remain theories only. Decades were to pass before the democratic theory of education was to be fully and practically applied in any American state. Many obstacles were still in the way of schools for all by public support and control. A real educational consciousness could not develop rapidly among a people sparsely settled and lacking in means of communication. The value of the principle of collective action, which has been so helpful in the development of the American school system, could not be easily learned under such conditions. Moreover, class distinctions were still strongly marked, and the pauper and parochial views of education retarded the growth of interest in public schools. The ancient doctrine that the education of the masses would be dangerous to society was still generally held in high esteem by the classes. And the poor believed that public education would stamp them as paupers. Opposition appeared also on the part of sectarian interests, which feared that their own religious schools would be replaced. Many thoughtful people viewed education by the state as an invasion of the parental and family function. But one of the most stubborn of all these difficulties was the chattel bond of their black brothers, whose slavery wore the sanction of the centuries and even of the Christian Church. A fully democratic school system could not be established in any American state while human slavery was lawful in any other.

Legislative gestures. Under the conditions of the time the principles of public education were slow to appear and slower to receive popular approval in the United States during the first half-century of national life. The idea of universal and free education for all had to be developed

gradually. Some of the states, through legislative enactments, made gestures for schools, but as the foundations of practical public-school plans these were little more effective, if any more, than the pious and patriotic but empty injunctions of the state constitutions on the necessity of preserving liberty and political equality by diffusing knowledge and learning among the people.

In most of these states partial programs of public education were sketched ; but in almost every case they were on paper only, and in practice turned out to be only the merest fragments of a democratic system. Taxation for school support was generally local, optional, and permissive, and the rate bill (a charge levied upon the parents according to the number of children they had in school) flourished generally until the middle of the nineteenth century or even later. Rarely did local schools receive state aid during the early national period. Control of education was likewise local until far into the century. State control or supervision was imperfectly developed and was always bitterly opposed by local communities, which, under the movement for independence, had quickly learned to love and respect the democratic doctrine of local self-government. When the localities finally yielded their rights of control to the authority of the state, they did so under the whip hand of state support, that wonder-working power in modern American public-school systems. Rarely also were the schools really free in any of the states until far into the nineteenth century. The pauper-school view of education, directly inherited from England during the colonial period, prevailed far beyond the period which chanted the doctrine that "all men are created equal, and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights."

In education this doctrine did not apply fully to the children of men in any of the states — not in Virginia, or Pennsylvania, or New York, or even in New England. So

advanced an advocate of public education as Henry Barnard believed that part of the expense of the child's schooling should be borne by the parent, as he declared before the American Institute of Instruction at Springfield, Massachusetts, less than a decade before the close of the Civil War. "Some able men among us," declared a member of the Connecticut State Board of Education in 1867, "say the state has no right to educate any but paupers. . . . They would have 'pauper school' written over the entrance to the public school." The degrading practice of the rate bill kept "hundreds and thousands of children out of school" in Connecticut as late as 1868; and even when this charge was decreased or remitted in the case of poor parents, it nevertheless served to stamp such beneficiaries as paupers. Conditions were probably no better in any state. Free schools, by state support and state control and open to all the children without humiliation by the taint of charity, were not realities in the American states during the first half of the nineteenth century.

This chapter shows that interest in education as an activity of the state was not wide in this country during the early national period, although there were discussions of the subject, and some effort (for example, Jefferson's plan for Virginia) was made to establish public schools.

This plan probably gave to the theory of public education its strongest support during the early national period, but even Jefferson's own state failed to respond to his appeal for public schools. There was promise, however, in the new and strange social forces at work during these years, although many obstacles had to be removed before the principles of public education as a function of the state could be practically applied in the United States. Some of these forces and the obstacles which they helped to remove are discussed in the following chapter.

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QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Point out any conditions of the early national period which are not mentioned in this chapter but which seem to you to have been obstacles in the way of public educational development

2. With the constitution and laws, trace the growth of education as a concern of government in your state.

3. Show why the conception of education as a private or religious obligation persisted after the organization of the national government.

4. From a study of Jefferson's school plan of 1779, point out its strong points and its weak points.

5. Jefferson considered education a proper obligation and function of the government, but he believed in the principle of local control rather than control by the state. Explain.

6. Consider the validity of Jefferson's theory that the intellectually superior students should be given special attention. How does his theory suggest the doctrine of individual differences?

7. Compare the arguments for education advanced by the political leaders during the early national period with the arguments for Federal aid to general education advanced in the report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education in 1938.

8. Trace the changing conception of education as it appears in the messages of governors and in the expressions of private individuals and of the press.

9. Indicate the various conditions or factors which affected public education during the early years of the national government.

10. Why were the early constitutional provisions for schools so vague and indefinite?

11. Consider the first three words in the educational provision of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 in the light of the fact that religious instruction is today not given in public schools.

12. Make a study of any educational leaders in your state before 1835 and note their positions on the subject of public-school support.

CHAPTER VII

NEW FORCES

Outline of the chapter. 1. Interest in education as a function of government was developed slowly by certain influences during the first half of the nineteenth century.

2. School societies, the infant-school movement, and the Lancasterian and other monitorial schools served to stimulate interest in the subject.

3. The secular Sunday school also helped to promote the idea of public schools. Sunday schools of the secular type were numerous.

4. The development of means of transportation and communication had social as well as economic effects. The movement for internal improvements helped to develop a social consciousness.

5. The growth of cities, the rise of the factory system, and the awakening of a class consciousness among the laboring people in industrial centers led to the consideration of new social problems and stimulated interest in education.

6. Some of the reforms which the labor movement advocated were achieved slowly and only after long agitation.

7. Other social as well as economic and political influences arose out of the frontier and the westward migration. The democratic movement, typified by the election of Jackson, was also helpful to the cause of schools. New conceptions of democracy slowly appeared.

8. The idea of education as a function of government was strengthened by the humanitarian movement in the first and second quarters of the nineteenth century.

Before a school system could develop and become democratic, even in theory, a consciousness of the need for education must be awakened among the people, and before it could be made democratic in practice the people must become willing to provide the means for supplying education. The opinions of the few who favored public education had to become the common sentiment of many people. Prejudice had to be overcome, religious jealousies and sectarian suspicions had to be allayed, the dead hands of

tradition had to be lifted, and a new view of the function of government had to be gained by governing authorities and lawmaking bodies, by the privileged and the propertied, and by the underprivileged and the deprived. To establish a democratic and general system of schools was a task for wise statesmanship and for agencies of propaganda and publicity. The task was finally to be accomplished by these and many other forces and influences.

School societies. The practice of the philanthropic support of education, which was popular and widely used in the colonial period, continued far into the nineteenth century, when many societies and associations were formed primarily for the purpose of educating poor children. One of the most prominent of these was founded in New York



DEWITT CLINTON

(which did not establish a public-school system until 1842) and was known as "The Society for Establishing a Free School in the City of New York." The organization was supported by public-spirited people, among them DeWitt Clinton, who was one of its founders and for many years its president. Its chief purpose was to establish a free school "for the education of such poor children as do not belong to, or are not provided for, by any religious society."

Chartered in 1805 by the legislature of the state, this society undertook to provide educational opportunity "for all children who are the proper objects of a gratuitous

education." In 1815 it received aid from the common-school fund of the state. Slightly more than a decade later it changed its name to "The Public School Society of New York" and was permitted by its new charter to accept tuition from those children who were able to pay. Immediately there was a decrease in attendance because many parents were "too poor and too proud to confess their poverty," and in 1832 the schools were again made entirely free to all. Meantime the society had had serious conflicts with religious and sectarian agencies. A decade later the legislature created the New York City Board of Education and laid the basis for a city system of public elementary schools. The society continued its work, however, until 1853, when it transferred its property to the city school board. By that time it had trained twelve hundred teachers, had built many schoolhouses, had provided schooling for more than six hundred thousand children, and had greatly increased public confidence in public education. Similar societies, though not so large or of such extensive educational service as this one in New York, were established and maintained in many cities, and served to stimulate interest in education at public expense and under public control.

The infant school. Another movement, whose roots ran into philanthropy, had influence in the early nineteenth century. This was the infant school, which appeared in New Lanark, Scotland, as early as 1816, when Robert Owen, the British socialist (known also for the later establishment of a communal colony at New Harmony on the Wabash River in Indiana) was moved by the unhappy condition of the very small children of the workers in a factory which he owned in part. The idea soon found its way to this country and led to the establishment of infant schools and of infant-school societies.

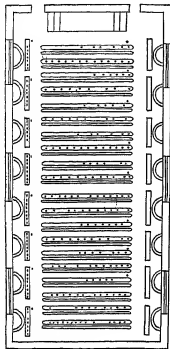
In 1818 Boston appropriated money to aid such schools for the purpose of preparing young children in the rudiments

of learning for admission to the public schools of the city, which did not then admit children until they could read and write. This elementary training had previously been acquired by private instruction in the home or in the dame schools, but there were many parents who could not afford the cost of this minimum schooling. Therefore, the infant school, as a supplement to the public-school system, seemed to fill a real social need. Other cities in the East adopted the practice, and societies for its encouragement were established in New York in 1827 and in Philadelphia about the same time. In 1828 Providence, Rhode Island, established schools for children between the ages of four and eight. When the infant school was changed in name to "primary department" or "primary grade" and united with schools already regularly established, the lower level of the usual American public-school system was thus formed. The kindergarten was to appear at a much later period. Aside from this result in organization the infant school seems to have served to encourage public interest in the development of a common-school system.

The Lancasterian and the Bell monitorial schools. An early practice which was borrowed from England and which served to arouse interest in public education appeared in the monitorial school. Joseph Lancaster, a young English schoolmaster, needing additional teachers for his school and having no money to provide them, turned in the emergency to the use of monitors, a practice which Andrew Bell, another Englishman, had used a few years earlier in an orphan asylum in India, and which he had described in a published account called "An Experiment in Education" (1797). Bell's plan and Lancaster's were closely similar, though the latter seems to have been arrived at independently, and the idea of monitorial instruction was old when these two men made practical use of it.

The use of the older, more intelligent, and more competent children as monitors for the instruction of small groups

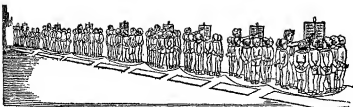
of younger, less intelligent, and less competent children — to use those who knew little to teach those who knew less — was the chief principle of monitorial instruction. This device lent itself to the economical management of a school-



A PLAN OF A LANCASTERIAN
MONITORIAL SCHOOLROOM

room. The Lancasterian system was so elaborate that the teacher had little to do "except to organize, to reward, to punish, and to inspire. When a child was admitted, a monitor assigned him his class; while he remained, a monitor taught him (with nine other pupils); when he was absent, one monitor ascertained the fact and another found out the reason; a monitor examined him periodically, and when he made progress a monitor promoted him; a monitor ruled the writing paper, a monitor had charge of the slates or books, and a monitor-general looked after all the other monitors."

Lancasterian methods. Lancaster described in many publications his methods of organizing schools, and in his manuals he gave minute directions from the construction of the house to the conduct of the recitations. Under his plan one teacher could direct the instruction of several hundred children. The routine of school management and teaching was so organized as to save time and to keep all the pupils constantly employed. "A place for everything and everything in its place" and "Let every child at every moment have something to



Groups of children reciting to monitors from reading charts or wall slates



Monitor leading pupils to seats. The hats are hung on the pupils' backs to save time and cloak rooms



Monitor inspecting written exercises at signal "Show slates"

LANCASTERIAN MONITORIAL SYSTEM

do and a motive for doing it" were popular Lancasterian mottoes. The teacher taught the monitors, and the monitors in turn taught their groups of children.

An affectionate interest in the children whom he taught, love of the work, pleasure in children's play, painstaking care and sacrifice for the benefit of those whom he taught, and confidence in orderly activity were among the prominent characteristics and traits of Lancaster's work and methods. And yet his plan in practical operation contained many weaknesses and defects. Among these were the formality of the routine work, the superficiality of much of the instruction, the rigid and mechanical discipline, memorization, and the absence of the psychological aspects of education. But Lancaster cannot be reproached for exercising the memory of the children, which had been and was to remain for many more years a popular and plausibly defended practice. Many decades were to pass before psychology was to appear as an aid in schoolroom practice.

But the Lancasterian method, when compared with the individual method in use in the old schools, wore the color of effectiveness. Especially did the cheapness of the monitorial plan recommend it highly in the United States, where it spread rapidly (especially in the larger towns and cities) after the first decade of the nineteenth century. The first Lancasterian school was opened in New York through the influence of the Public School Society of that city. The system spread from Massachusetts to Georgia and into some of the cities of the West. North Carolina and Maryland proposed, and the latter state actually undertook, a state system of schools upon the Lancasterian plan. In 1814 the treasurer of the Raleigh Academy announced the introduction of "the highly approved mode of teaching children the first rudiments of learning, invented by the celebrated Joseph Lancaster of London." Lancaster himself came to this country about 1818 and spent many years here, and

schools were organized on his method in various parts of the country. The plan fell into disuse before the end of the ante-bellum period, but before it disappeared it had served to awaken public interest in, and sentiment for, the public-school idea. Men like DeWitt Clinton of New York, Governor Wolcott of Connecticut, and Archibald D. Murphey of North Carolina thought highly of the Lancasterian system. It is probable also that the monitorial method provoked discussion on questions of education and promoted the idea of schools at public expense. Moreover, it served to improve the technique of classroom management and to draw attention to the necessity of special preparation for teachers. The Lancasterian model schools were forerunners of normal schools in the United States, and in this way the system encouraged the development of agencies for the training of teachers. As public opinion became aroused on the subject of education, and as the material prosperity of the people increased and the people became willing to contribute more liberally to the support of schools, the Lancasterian system disappeared; but it had served as a step, if feeble, toward the American free-school system that was to be.

The secular Sunday school. By acquainting neighborhoods and communities with schools and by drawing the attention of the well-to-do to the educational needs of the underprivileged in a way, perhaps, that political theory could never have done, the secular Sunday school also served to promote the idea of public schools. In the name of religion and on terms of equality it brought together the children of all classes. Virginia seems to have been a pioneer in the movement in this country. A Sunday school was established in that state as early as 1786; and three decades later this type of school was viewed by some leaders as a substitute for the common public school, which, there as in most of the states at that time, contained the taint of charity.

The Sunday school was imported from England, where Robert Raikes had begun it in 1780 for the purpose of providing underprivileged factory children with instruction in reading and the church catechism by teachers who were paid for their services. From this modest beginning the movement grew and received wide support by interdenominational societies, a fact which testifies to a purpose broader than the sectarian motive or theological tone that it finally acquired in the United States. The historian Green believed that "the Sunday schools established by Mr. Raikes were the beginnings of popular education."

In the early days of the Sunday school in this country, where the need for separate schools for the very poor and destitute children was not so great as in England, the religious denominations opposed its nonsectarian character. The beginnings were generally made by voluntary effort; but by the opening of the second quarter of the nineteenth century some of the churches accepted responsibility for this type of school, which has now come to be maintained as an important phase of denominational activity. From a school with a full day of instruction in reading, writing, and ciphering, it is now an agency which gives a brief period to the teaching of religious materials.

Sunday schools of the secular type were numerous, however, during nearly half a century after the opening of the first one in Virginia. They appeared in all the Southern states and in the East, especially in the cities. A Methodist conference in session in Charleston in 1790 ordered the establishment of Sunday schools in or near the church or place of worship, and provision was to be made to secure persons "to teach gratis all who will attend and have capacity to learn, from six o'clock in the morning till ten, and from two o'clock in the afternoon till six, when it does not interfere with public worship." A year later a Sunday-school society was organized in Philadelphia to provide in-

struction for the poor children of the city. Schools of this type appeared during the succeeding years in Boston, in New York, in Paterson, New Jersey, in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in Pittsburgh, in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and in Baltimore. Sunday-school unions, combinations of local efforts, were later formed in some of the cities, and from them was organized the American Sunday School Union in 1824. Cincinnati became the headquarters of the organization in 1832, and a systematic campaign was waged to extend the movement in the Mississippi Valley. Within two years twenty-eight hundred schools were established in that region. Societies for the purpose of encouraging the work of the Sunday school were established in many of the cities.

A memorial of the Orange County Sunday School Union to the legislature of North Carolina in 1825, signed by forty substantial citizens, stated that the Sunday school was to be found at that time in almost every state in the Union, and had "been invariably attended with marked advantage to the young." That particular union, which asked for legislative aid to carry on its work, had under its care twenty-two schools in which were instructed "from eight hundred to one thousand children, many of whom, the children of the poor who would otherwise have been brought up in utter ignorance and vice, have been taught to read and trained in habits of moral reflection and conduct." The memorialists asked for the sum of twenty-five cents a year to purchase books "for every Sunday-school learner under their care, out of the public taxes," and that similar provision be made for all Sunday schools then in the state and for any which should thereafter be established. The committee to whom the memorial was referred reported "that it is inexpedient to grant the prayer of the petitioners and therefore recommend its rejection." Two years later the legislature considered, and the senate passed upon its first reading, a bill to encourage Sunday schools established "to

instruct poor and indigent children in the art of reading and writing," but further action on the matter was later indefinitely postponed.

Transportation and communication. The political necessity of interstate communication had been emphasized by the Revolution when the difficulties of transporting troops had revealed the inefficiency of primitive roads. The opening of the Southwest, the development of commercial relations between that section and the older sections of the South and the East, and the rapid growth in population in the entire Western region made better means of communication necessary. The democratizing influences of the westward expansion and the development of the huge material resources of the country could be made possible only through such means. The direction of social as well as economic forces was to be changed through the building of turnpikes and the construction of canals, steamboats, and railroads.

Turnpikes, begun before the close of the eighteenth century, had been fairly well supplied in New York, Pennsylvania, and New England. There and elsewhere local roads were improved and continuous lines for through traffic were established. Much private money found its way into investments in these enterprises, and often state aid was also given to promote them. The tolls were heavy, but the cost of transportation was reduced and communication was made more speedy. The distance of more than three hundred miles from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh could be covered in less than six days, and travelers could find comfortable lodging every night while on the way.

After Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury, in 1807, made an impressive report on roads, canals, harbors, and rivers and proposed a comprehensive plan for their improvement by aid of Congress, the national government became interested in internal improvements, and there was widespread

agitation of the subject. Congress was interested for political and for economic reasons, and there was interest also in improvements by which greater speed and safety could be given to mails. The only result of this interest and agitation, however, was the construction of the Cumberland Road, or "National Pike," from the national capital to Vandalia, Illinois, which was completed in 1838 at a cost of something above \$4,000,000. Meantime, doubts of the constitutionality of Federal aid to internal improvements arose, and the national plan was abandoned, but the states themselves took up the task of providing better means of communication and trade.

The mania for internal improvements. The importance of using the rivers as highways had meantime become recognized when Robert Fulton demonstrated the practicability of steam navigation by water, taking the clumsy *Clermont* the one hundred and fifty miles from New York to Albany in thirty-two hours in August, 1807. Steamboats soon came into wide use, increased the river trade, which had already become considerable through the use of barges and flatboats, helped to solve the problem of outlet for the produce of the Western sections, and served also to increase and strengthen the economic bonds in an immense country hitherto so widely separated into strongly marked sections of East, West, and South. Canals were also being built. Many small canal projects had been done earlier, the Dismal Swamp Canal, which was constructed under joint charter of Virginia and North Carolina and opened in 1794, being the first; but the Erie Canal, completed in 1825 and connecting the Hudson River with the Great Lakes (a project which George Washington had predicted), was the most important artificial waterway of them all. It formed a continuous waterway from the Atlantic seaboard to the great Middle West and served to open up vast reaches in that section of the country. A mania for canal construction and

other internal improvements followed the prompt success of the Erie enterprise. Pennsylvania constructed a system of canals from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, completing it in 1834 at a cost of more than \$10,000,000. Private capital being unequal to the task, assistance was sought from the states, and the Federal government, although it had withdrawn from such work, indirectly aided the various states by the distribution of its surplus revenue in 1837.

The magnitude of the development of internal improvements appears in the rapid increase in state debts from less than \$13,000,000 in 1820 to \$200,000,000 two decades later, most of the money going into roads, canals, and railroads. The era of railroad-building was one of far-reaching economic and social beneficence. The sail car of Evan Thomas, built for use on the Baltimore & Ohio (the pioneer railroad in the United States, which was begun in 1828 and opened for traffic two years later) demonstrated how little power was required to propel a car on rails. Horse power was also used, and after eighteen months of experiment with it and sail power, steam was applied. In a brief period the principal cities on the coast were united by railways. By 1835 Pennsylvania had two hundred miles, by 1840 the entire country could boast of nearly three thousand miles, and by 1860 nearly thirty-one thousand miles had been constructed. The craze for railroad construction at state expense led to extravagance and waste and, in some cases, to corruption and became one of the vital causes of the panic of 1837. Easily made, the debts when due were not infrequently repudiated.

A social consciousness. Chief among the many beneficent influences of the movement for improved means of transportation and communication was the impetus given to the development of a social consciousness. Places formerly remote were brought closer together, economic interdependencies were established, isolation was in part broken

down, ideas were now more readily exchanged, and men were able to take another step in their emancipation from the limitations of the primitive conditions which had so long surrounded them. The rise and spread of railroads were more than economic forces.

The awakening of labor. The democratic awakening, out of which were to come the principles of education by public support and under public control, was due in part also to the awakening of a class consciousness among the laboring classes in the industrial centers. The cities had developed somewhat rapidly during the first three or four decades of the nineteenth century, although less than 7 per cent of the people of the entire country lived in so-called urban communities in 1830. These were new classes in America, products of the introduction of machinery, of the factory system, of the rise of capitalism, and of the Industrial Revolution in general, all of which affected the daily lives of men, women, and children everywhere. Before the close of the Revolutionary War remarkable inventions by which machinery had been applied to spinning and weaving, — the spinning "jenny" of James Hargreaves, the illiterate weaver of Lancashire, the spinning "frame" of Richard Arkwright, an English peddler; the spinning "mule" of Samuel Crompton, an English weaver; and the power loom of Edmund Cartwright, an English clergyman, — had revolutionized industry in England. That country, possessing the machinery, controlled the manufacture of cotton and woolen goods, jealously guarded the monopoly, and prohibited the exportation of machines, tools, or models used in such manufacturing; but by smuggling or other artful devices many of the secrets of the English inventors soon became known, and their inventions were copied in the United States.

The factory; new social problems. American inventors also added to what they could borrow from England. In 1789, the same year that the national government began, a

complete cotton machinery was set up at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, by Samuel Slater, an Englishman, who reproduced from his memory of English machines all the mechanical details of the first American cotton factory. The growth of manufactures was slow, and in 1804 there were only four cotton factories in the country; but by 1815 nearly \$50,000,000 were invested in textile factories, and the consumption of raw cotton in that year reached ninety thousand bales.

About the same time (1814) Francis C. Lowell introduced the power loom and, in "the first complete factory in the world," brought under one roof at Waltham, Massachusetts, the various processes of spinning and weaving. Meantime an ingenious Connecticut school-teacher in Georgia, a year after his graduation from Yale, devised saw teeth on a revolving wheel that picked the lint from cottonseed. At that time cotton was raised only in Georgia and South Carolina; its culture now spread rapidly to other states, and slavery accompanied it and became identified with it. The factory system spread rapidly also. The age of steam and machinery had begun, and with it came towns and cities in which soon congested new and large working classes who were separated for the first time from the soil.

Thousands of men, women, and children were drained off from the farms and firesides, and to these were added other thousands from Europe. They came into new and strange grievances. Unrest was inevitable. New social problems were inevitable. The problems of ignorance concentrated in congested communities, of pauperism, of delinquency and dependency, of vagrancy and crime, now appeared to an alarming degree for the first time in American life. Neither science nor law offered the workers protection from the destitution and disease, vermin and vice, that were certain results from long and unregulated hours of labor. Insanitary and unhygienic conditions in blocks of ugly tenements, the

liability of imprisonment for debt (whose shadow still lingered in many of the states), the lack of fit water supply or sewerage system or garbage collection, the lack of law by which men could retain rights in the products of their labors as long as their wages were unpaid, and the scanty opportunities of schooling for their children, — all united to crush down this new class of workers.

Labor unions formed. Aroused by these unwholesome and unjust conditions, workingmen, as their numbers increased, sought defense and relief in associations. Local societies were formed, and agitation and campaigns begun for better working and living conditions. Labor journals and speakers and agitators appeared in behalf of the "laborin' man an' laborin' woman," as James Russell Lowell wrote it in the "Biglow Papers." Before Jackson left the White House there were fifty-three unions in Philadelphia, about the same number in New York, nearly two dozen in Baltimore, and sixteen in Boston. Attempts were made by these and other local associations to confederate in 1834, "to unite and harmonize the efforts of all the productive classes of the country," but the undertaking was not a signal success. The balance of power was not yet fully in the hands of the workers, although they were able to throw fright into the greedy and avaricious capitalists (who had already developed a keen scent for special privileges to be had from legislatures and courts) and to force politicians to pay some heed to the voice of labor. Numerous bills looking to improvement found their way into legislative halls, but the public conscience was not fully aroused to the economic and social needs of the underprivileged.

Conditions of labor. These needs were numerous and large. The factory hands were new and helpless figures in the economic and social order in America. Many of them were women and children whose meager wages and long hours of labor were arbitrarily fixed by the factory-owners.

The working day was generally from dawn to dark in foul air, poor light, and the incessant noises of machinery. Five minutes after sunrise Hope Factory in Rhode Island locked its gates against the tardy workers, not to be unlocked again until eight at night, and the charge was made that the authorities lengthened this day by manipulating the clock. During the fifteen or sixteen hours of toil the workers (more than half of whom were children) were allowed two periods of twenty-five minutes for a cold breakfast and dinner which they brought to the factory. The conditions were similar elsewhere — at Paterson in New Jersey, at Griswold in Connecticut, and at Lowell in Massachusetts. Replies to questions sent to the mayors and aldermen of all Massachusetts factory towns by a legislative committee in 1825 showed that not one town claimed less than eleven hours of toil for children — workers from six to seventeen years of age — and only two reported a day so short as that. The long working hours were for every day except Sunday. 'One reported an average of twelve hours a day, and the humanitarian mayor added, with the pious inflection which has been heard so often even in recent years, that "these children are better off than their neighbors."

A statement, somewhat mild and perhaps also a trifle partisan, signed by "Many Operatives" and appearing in a labor journal in 1830, described the bad conditions under which children worked in the factories in the City of Brotherly Love. The hands were boys and girls, not more than one sixth of whom could read and write. Parents there as elsewhere were deprived of the opportunity of giving their children "a trifling education" by the threats of the factory authorities that if one child should be taken out of work for school, even for a short period, all members of the family would be forced out of employment, "and we have known such threats put into execution," said the statement. At a labor convention in Boston two years later a similar report

was made of the opportunities for the schooling of children who worked in factories. Very seldom were these children, who represented two fifths of all the factory employees, taken from the mills to be placed in school. The only educational opportunities allowed them were "on the Sabbath and after half-past eight o'clock of the evening of other days." These conditions were described as harmful "to the character of American freemen, and to the wives and mothers of such." The evils complained of were declared to be unjust and cruel, no less than the sacrifice of the best interests of the rising generation "to the cupidity and avarice of their employers."

Hostile attitude toward labor. Complete faith in general education was often expressed by the early spokesmen of labor interests. In equal education for all many of them seemed to see remedies for every existing evil, though such a view was, of course, not shared by all, even among the labor leaders. Thomas Skidmore in 1829 discussed the rights of man to property, and called the educational enthusiasts in New York "political dreamers." In general the propertied and so-called respectable classes gave labor no sympathy, and the newspapers were often bitterly and contemptuously hostile.

President Monroe in a message to Congress congratulated the manufacturers on the "fall in the price of labor, so favorable to the success of domestic manufactures"; and Alexander Hamilton thought it "worthy of particular remark that, in general, women and children are rendered more useful, and the latter more early useful, by manufacturing establishments than they would otherwise be." Hamilton sought to strengthen his argument by noting that four sevenths of the cotton-factory workers in Great Britain were women and children, "of whom the greater proportion are children and many of a tender age." Even the courts reflected the opposition of the classes and stood as stubborn obstacles to

the cause of the workers. Not until 1842 did any court recognize that workmen had the right of collective action in seeking to improve their conditions. And upon the floor of Congress, while the factory system was in its infancy, gratitude was expressed for cotton-manufacturing machinery and its immense saving of labor. Five or six men could manage a factory, and "the other hands are mere children,



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whose labor is of little use in any other branch of industry." A congressional committee in 1816 estimated that of the hundred thousand persons employed in the cloth industry, only one tenth were men, nearly one fourth were boys, and sixty-six thousand were women and girls. Matthew Carey, writer and publisher, and founder of the *Columbian Magazine*, was enthusiastic over the opportunities which the

factory offered young girls who were "preserved from idleness and its attendant vices and crimes — and whose wages probably average \$1.50 a week." On the other hand, William Ellery Channing, Unitarian preacher and writer, crying out against slavery in another form and praying that "Providence will beat back and humble our cupidity and ambition," viewed questions of labor as essentially those of human welfare. Horace Mann and other humanitarians held similar if not such strong views. Catherine Esther Beecher, the author and lecturer, while recognizing the danger of collision with "pecuniary and party interests" in discussing the conditions of women and children in industry, pointed to the great

danger of the manufacturing localities of our country, "which every third year are sending at least sixty thousand American women from domestic labors to toil in shops and mills, and in three years receiving back at least one in every three with impaired constitutions."

However, as opportunities increased for accumulating economic wealth through the development of factories, the Puritan's view that idleness and iniquity are twin evils made stronger and stronger appeal even to some of the humanitarians and uplifters. *Niles' Weekly Register*, for nearly half a century the organ of the manufacturers, calculated the wealth that could be added in the United States if all children were put to work in the factories and mills. Even the pen of Horace Mann quivered a bit when he wrote in his third annual report to the state board of education of Massachusetts that child labor in factories, if supplemented by some schooling, could be "converted from a servitude into a useful habit of diligence." With such support from the past it is not amazing to hear even now the plea that school terms cannot be lengthened in the cotton and tobacco belts of the South. There as elsewhere politics and property often resist efforts to discover and improve the conditions surrounding children and women in industry.

Reforms gained slowly. Although all the reforms which the labor movement advocated were not promptly achieved, some were gained in the thirties and forties and others followed later. The ten-hour working day was recognized by the national government in 1840, when it was introduced into the navy yard at Washington, and shortly afterwards the practice was adopted for artisans and in factories in many parts of the country. Laws for the protection of the life and health of the factory hands were enacted, imprisonment for debt disappeared, and the effort to establish schools supported by public taxes and controlled by the public will finally succeeded. The early labor forces helped to over-

come some of the inertia and indifference and selfishness of the time and to stir up active interest in public schools. They also had influence upon movements for general social reform. However large or small was its influence on these matters, this awakening of a class consciousness appeared as the first clear demand that human rights be placed above property rights or at least on an equal footing with them, that education be considered a proper activity of a properly constituted government, that the laborer is worthy of his hire and that his wages should have first lien among the claims of other creditors, and that neither a man's person nor his means of livelihood should be seized for debt.

The element of charity in education. Indignant were the protests of workingmen against the pauper school and the element of charity in education. Labor demanded general and equal systems of education not as charity but as the right of every child. Then, as earlier and as later, the classes assumed an air of condescending rebuke to the call for education for the masses. The underprivileged were often reminded that their lot was so much better than that of the underprivileged classes in other parts of the world, that education was the concern and care of the individual, and that free education for all by public support was tantamount to an arbitrary division of private property among the poor. Many of the stock arguments heard today against public education were shopworn even in the thirties and forties.

Imprisonment for debt. Indignant also were the protests of the workingmen against the barbarism of imprisonment for debt — a law which in theory applied equally to all, but pressed most heavily upon the poor. No matter how small the sum he owed, the debtor could be sentenced to jail until it was paid, and deprived meanwhile of any opportunity to work off the debt. When, in the same year that Jackson first became president, a large meeting of workingmen declared, "One principle that we contend for is the abolition

of imprisonment for debt," there were seventy-five thousand persons in the debtors' prisons in the United States, many for trifling sums, half of them for amounts less than twenty dollars. A year later it was said that three thousand persons were annually sent to prison in Massachusetts. In the city of Boston fourteen hundred victims were imprisoned (a hundred of them women), and the only charges against them were the crimes of owing small amounts: a blind man, with a dependent family, owed six dollars; a widow, sixty-eight cents; a veteran of the Revolutionary War, sixty-six years old, only a few dollars. Some of the prisons were "veritable chambers of horrors." With no provision made for separating the unfortunate on any basis of sex or age or character, often all were thrown into one room, sometimes with little more shelter from the elements from the outside than from the vices of the depraved on the inside.

Already the American mania for organizations was appearing. There were societies to send missionaries to the heathen, to promote the sales and circulation of the Bible and religious tracts, to educate men for the Gospel ministry, to promote temperance, the observance of the Sabbath, and the comfort of convicts, to ransom the black slave, and to colonize the free negro. Benevolent and numerous were the energies of Christian America engaged in an effort to remedy, to patch up, and to repair. But while charitable societies were formed in behalf of persons imprisoned for debt, their purpose was not to abolish the barbarous practice nor to pay the debts and thus secure the liberty of prisoners, "but to furnish sufficient food, clothing, and fuel to prolong the agony of the suffering prisoners." Until reform could come at this point and at many others the rights of "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," so freely promised for half a dozen decades, were to remain mere mummeries without practical meaning.

The frontier; Jacksonian democracy. The pioneers, who depended for their subsistence chiefly "upon the natural growth of vegetation and the proceeds of hunting"; the emigrant purchasers of lands, who added field to field, cleared the way for roads, put up log houses for homes, built bridges, schoolhouses, courthouses, and mills, and exhibited "the picture and forms of plain, frugal, civilized life"; and the men of capital, through whose enterprise villages were made into towns and then cities, edifices of brick were erected, and extensive fields, gardens, and orchards, schools, colleges, and churches were developed, — these three classes followed one after the other, as waves of the ocean, in that significant movement known as westward expansion.

The earliest migration took place into what is now Kentucky and Tennessee. This was before the American Revolution and after the fear of French aggression had been removed by the outcome of the French and Indian War. By 1790 there was a population of two hundred thousand in the territory west of the Appalachian Mountains; two decades later it numbered a million. Movement after movement received new stimulus as free or very cheap land and the opportunity of independence beckoned to the restless, to the unsuccessful, to the poor and the oppressed, to the brave and the adventuresome, and to all others who craved a chance to hew out their own careers under conditions of freedom from the restrictions of the older settlements. In facing fresh problems these pioneers broke off the restraints of custom and readily developed inventiveness and resourcefulness and new institutions. There was freedom beyond the Alleghenies, "the most American part of America," declared James Bryce. There the traits commonly considered the most characteristically American developed and flourished. The democracy of the West was not the dream of the theorist: in it the worth of the common man received

recognition, and through it emphasis was placed upon "the right of every man to rise to the full measure of his own nature."

The democratic spirit of the frontier appeared not only in the manner of everyday life there, but was revealed especially in the constitutions framed when state governments were being established. All the Western states entering the Union after 1812, except Mississippi, accepted manhood suffrage and the doctrine of majority rule instead of the rule of property, although some of the older states in the East were still resisting attempts to remove the ancient property restrictions on the ballot and on office-holding. Even men like Daniel Webster in Massachusetts and Chancellor Kent in New York viewed with alarm the wave of democracy that threatened to overrun their respective states in the constitutional conventions of 1821 — the former stoutly maintaining that to give all men the right to vote would mean the surrender of "the wealth of individuals to the rapaciousness of a merciless gang," and the latter protesting against, and predicting dire results from, manhood suffrage, which he likened unto a mighty engine that would destroy property, laws, and liberties. But in time the influence of the West reacted on the older states, and the old property and religious qualifications for voting and for holding political offices were finally abandoned, Rhode Island and Virginia delaying the reform until near the middle of the century, and North Carolina until 1856. Opportunities of extending public educational advantages to those classes who formerly had been deprived of them widened as the franchise was extended to all white adult males. And the agitation for free schools for all, at public expense and under public control, was now to increase.

Meantime the election of Andrew Jackson as president of the United States marked the end of a political period which is not without social significance. It marked the beginning

of new manifestations of more vital and growing social life. Changes now appeared which broke through traditions and precedents of the past. Jackson himself typified the changes — that democratic revolution which finally was to advance the cause of education as far as it was possible to advance it in a country countenancing human slavery.

But the elevation of this man — a "son of the soil" — to be the chief of a nation of twelve million souls served to end the old order and to begin a new. Some significance has been read into Jackson's obscure origin and his lack of formal education. Each of the seven presidents before him had come from and represented the propertied, privileged, and cultured classes, and all except Washington had attended college. Not one had ever made his living by the work of his hands. But Jackson had come from the underprivileged classes. Born in poverty, he had made his own way by his own wits and the strong common sense with which he was richly endowed. His schooling must have been of the merest rudiments, and it is not known just how, when, or where these were secured. Up to the time that he became candidate for president in 1824, when he was fifty-seven years old, most of his time had been spent on the frontier or in communities characterized by the frontier spirit. He had had wide experience in politics and in war; and though he was quick and erratic in judgment and impulsive and temperamental rather than judicial and reflective in habit of mind, he revealed wide sympathy with the views and opinions of the underprivileged and unusual capacity for leadership. As candidate for president his military reputation exceeded that of any American living at the time and assured him wide popularity. Sincere, honest, and direct in public life and singularly above reproach in private life, his courage and strength commended him to the people, whose desires he seemed to embody. "I have confidence," he declared, "in the virtue and good sense of the people."

Jackson personified their cause, and his election was an emphatic popular approval of the new political and social order with which he was identified.

New conceptions of democracy. Thus new and more vital conceptions of democracy began slowly to arise. The change appeared in the revisions of old constitutions and the adoption of new ones which revealed a growing interest in wider political equality and responsibility, the tendency to distrust large executive power, and the movement to grant more authority to the people. Confidence in the people was expanding. Property and religious qualifications for voting and for holding office were removed or reduced in the older states, where they had so long resisted the growing forces of democracy. Representation in



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state legislatures began to change from the basis of wealth to the more nearly proper basis of population. There was also an increase in the number of offices to be filled by popular vote and a decrease in the number of appointments formerly made by governors or legislatures.

The humanitarian movement. Other movements of social significance were appearing also during the first and second quarters of the nineteenth century. The humanitarian movement was slowly gaining strength. The number of crimes for which the death penalty had been exacted was decreased, and the abolition of that penalty was actually

advocated. There were movements to abolish negro slavery, to give support to the cause of world peace, and to improve the position of women. The American Peace Society was founded in 1828. A convention of temperance advocates met in Philadelphia in 1833 with four hundred delegates from twenty-one states, and the American Temperance Union was formed. Timothy Shay Arthur's "Ten Nights in a Barroom" appeared in 1854, was dramatized, and had a wide vogue and influence. Religion shared with Jacksonian democracy the eagerness to carry light to dark places. Missionary societies were organized, and soon there was a wide extension of missionary activity, and the rivalry of the various religious denominations became keen. It was a time of frequent religious revivals and numerous camp meetings, of itinerant preachers, and of colporteurs with Bibles and religious tracts.

Education as a function of government. Along with the growing tendency to use public funds or credit to promote banks, canals, roads, and railroads, and the movement that considered government a means of promoting public welfare, was soon to go a tendency—one that was to grow stronger and stronger—to view education as an activity in which properly constituted governments could participate and properly encourage and support. Manners were still crude among the masses, and culture was still remote from all but a few. Knowledge and learning, which Jefferson half a century earlier had sought by legislative action to diffuse more generally among the people of his state, were still strange to most of the people of the United States when Andrew Jackson was president. But the children of the new nation (now fairly free from dire poverty and excess of crime), absorbed in subduing a continent and in mastering the material forces about them, and with little opportunity for leisure must wait a while longer before the new democracy was to express itself in a school system universal and free to all.

The way for education as a concern of government was clearer, however, than it had ever been, though the blight of slavery had to be removed before democracy could fully flower. But politicians were able to read the signs of the times. Governor Clinton, in a message to the legislature of New York in 1826, said that the encouragement of education was the first duty of government; and the following year he said that the right to vote could not be exercised safely "without intelligence," meaning, perhaps, that the voters should have the chance of schooling. Executives and public men in other states were expressing similar platitudes. Abraham Lincoln, in offering himself in 1832 to the people of an Illinois county as a candidate "for the honorable office of one of your representatives in the next General Assembly of this State," viewed education as "the most important subject which we as a people can be engaged in." He thought that it was of vital importance that "every man may receive at least a moderate education" in order to read history so that he may "duly appreciate the value of our free institutions . . . to say nothing of the advantages and satisfaction to be derived from all being able to read the Scriptures and other works, both of a religious and moral nature, for themselves." He desired the opportunity to do what he could to advance any measure that may hasten the period when "education and, by its means, morality, sobriety, enterprise, and industry, shall become much more general than at present."

And sixteen years after he had opposed the removal of property qualifications on suffrage in Massachusetts, Daniel Webster declared, in an address in democratic Indiana, that "education, to accomplish the ends of good government, should be universally diffused. Open the doors of the school-houses to all the children of the land. . . . On the diffusion of education among the people rests the preservation and perpetuation of our free institutions." But the story of

public education is not in large part the biographies of the men who gave utterance to such fair and promising statements. Few were the politicians then or later, and few are they now, who stump their districts or states in behalf of educational questions on which voters divide. Not often have they entered into the kingdom in such manner as this. Deliverance of the masses from ignorance was to arise from other places and through other agencies.

This chapter shows some of the more potent forces which helped during the early nineteenth century to awaken among the people of this country a consciousness of the need for public education and served to strengthen the idea of schools as a function of government. These forces were economic and industrial, political, religious, and humanitarian. Through their influences the way of public education became somewhat clearer, but it was to brighten also through the influence of other agencies and of some fervid educational leaders whose work will be described in Chapter VIII.

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QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Show how public opinion was slowly influenced in favor of education as a function of the state by means of (1) public-school

societies, (2) the infant-school movement, (3) the Lancasterian schools, (4) the secular Sunday school.

2. Discuss the methods used in the Lancasterian schools. Why did these schools fall into disuse?

3. Show how the movement for improved means of transportation and communication developed a social consciousness. Consider the social influences of recent road-building programs in the various states.

4. List the reforms which the laboring classes advocated in the 1830's and 1840's.

5. Show how the factory system brought new social problems. List some of the problems.

6. Trace the development of the movement to abolish imprisonment for debt in your state. Point out any present-day survivals of the old practice.

7. Compare the conditions surrounding labor in the twenties and thirties with conditions surrounding farm tenancy in the cotton and tobacco belts of the South and the corn belt of the West.

8. Consider the educational significance of the decrease in the hours of the working day as a result of the wide applications of science.

9. Show how the democratic spirit of the frontier appeared in education.

10. Trace the constitutional and legal changes in regard to education which were made in your state between 1820 and 1860.

11. Indicate the social significance of the election of Andrew Jackson as president of the United States.

12. Trace the growth of the humanitarian movement in your state during the first half of the nineteenth century.

13. Discuss any economic or other conditions in the United States since 1930 that have drawn sharp attention to education as a public concern.

CHAPTER VIII

THE AWAKENING

Outline of the chapter. 1 The way for the educational awakening of the second quarter of the nineteenth century was prepared in part by educational publicity and propaganda.

2. This took the form of educational journals, of which Henry Barnard's was the most distinguished.

3. Reports of educational leaders were also influential. Those of Murphey, Cousin, Stowe, Barnard, and Mann were the most significant.

4. Educational conventions, memorials, and surveys were also important in the awakening.

5. The lyceum movement was likewise an effective agency of publicity.

6. But the most important forces of all were the labors of such educational leaders as Carter, Mann, Barnard, Wiley, Mills, Lewis, Galloway, Breckinridge, and Edwards.

7. The work of Horace Mann in Massachusetts was perhaps the most far-reaching in influence — his problems, policies, and achievements, and his contest with the Boston schoolmasters.

8. The educational services of Henry Barnard in Connecticut and Rhode Island were very influential, as was also his later career.

9. The work of Calvin H. Wiley in North Carolina was of a high order also.

10. Caleb Mills, through his "Addresses to the Legislature" of Indiana led the way for reform in that state.

11. These and other leaders of the period occupy a high place in the educational history of this country.

The public school, just as some other institutions and practices of the United States, was created largely by conflicts which have grown out of contending economic interests. Underlying these conflicts — conflicts which led to the removal of religious and property restrictions on the ballot, to an increase in elective offices, to the abolition of imprisonment for debt, to the improvement of the conditions of labor, and to other humanitarian and social reforms,

all of which were discussed in the preceding chapter as evidences of the democratic awakening in the second quarter of the nineteenth century—were certain social forces of equal if not greater importance than the individuals who came into prominence in the struggles. These reforms were results of vital forces that helped to prepare the way for education as a major concern of government. Other agencies and influences which aided the cause of education and led gradually to an awakening in the last two decades of the ante-bellum period included educational journalism, influences from Europe, educational conventions, the lyceum movement, and such a fervid educational leadership as the country had never before witnessed. Through these forces the way of public education was finally cleared of almost all obstructions except one, and that was to be removed by the sword.

Educational publicity and propaganda. Newspapers were used slightly in the early days (as they are increasingly used today) to advance the cause of education, and then as now the leaders laid hold on the press to good purpose. Before the close of the third decade of the century many educational journals began to appear in large numbers. The list of those known to have been published by 1861 runs to one hundred and twenty-one, of general, local, and specialized educational interests. Since that time the number has increased until of making many educational journals there is now no end.

Beginnings of educational magazines. One of the first attempts in American educational journalism was made by Albert Picket and his son, John Picket, proprietors of a school in New York and authors of textbooks. This was *The Academician*, a semiweekly of sixteen octavo pages, published in New York from February, 1818, to January, 1820. In it appeared articles dealing with Fellenberg's school at Hofwyl, Switzerland, the work and methods of

Pestalozzi, and a comparison of the latter's work with that of Bell and Lancaster. Many of the articles, sprinkled with Latin quotations and otherwise revealing the pedantry of the period, also dealt with methods and other practical school matters. *The Teacher's Guide and Parent's Assistant*, published in Portland, Maine, from 1826 to 1827, drew public attention through its articles to such subjects as the infant school, the secular Sunday school, Pestalozzian methods, schoolbooks, the training of teachers, physical education, and other topics and needed reforms. Between 1826 and 1830 William Russell published in Boston the *American Journal of Education*, which carried articles and notes on education in this country and Europe, on elementary education, on moral, physical, and personal education, and on "female education," which was described as "unspeakably important." There were discussions of pedagogical questions and of methods by which schools and schoolbooks could be improved, and articles translated from foreign educational writers. Russell was succeeded as editor by William C. Woodbridge, who continued the publication until 1836 as the *American Annals of Education*; it contained a notable series of articles upon many educational subjects. Woodbridge was followed by William A. Alcott, who was succeeded as editor by M. G. Hubbard. *The American Quarterly Register and Journal of the American Education Society*, which seems to have appeared at Andover, Massachusetts, as early as 1829 and to have continued, if not regularly, until 1843, was concerned largely with higher and theological education. *The Common School Assistant*, as its name suggests, was especially concerned with the stimulation of interest in the movement for common, or public, schools. It was published at Albany, New York, and was one of several magazines which flourished in that state for varying periods for three decades beginning with the eighteen-thirties. Horace Mann's *Common School Journal*

in Massachusetts, Calvin H. Wiley's *North Carolina Journal of Education*, and Henry Barnard's *Connecticut Common School Journal* were among the more important state educational magazines of the ante-bellum period.

Barnard's *Journal of Education*. At its meeting in Washington in the winter of 1854 Barnard suggested to the American Association for the Advancement of Education the publication of a national journal of education. That organization was unable to finance the project, and Barnard undertook it on his own account in the following May. The result was the *American Journal of Education*, which was issued in thirty-two large volumes of about eight hundred pages each. It was the most encyclopedic of all the educational journals of the century and perhaps the best work on educational progress and educational material in this country or Europe. Many of the most important educational writings from Plato to Herbert Spencer, accounts of school systems everywhere, sketches of educational reformers, and many other educational subjects were published and discussed in it. Out of this work came the Report of the United States Commissioner of Education.

European influence upon educational journals. In all these pioneer educational journals there was much Pestalozzian material and many articles on the importance and necessity of free education. In most if not all of them there was evidence also of European influence upon the establishment of such journals, and in them appeared influential reports, such as those of Cousin and of Stowe, dealing with education in parts of Europe. Of the twenty or more educational periodicals established in this country before 1840 many refer to the use of such journals in Germany, and Cousin's report, which was printed in part by nearly all the twenty, mentions the fact that the Prussian government sent such publications to its teachers. *The Illinois Common School Advocate* in 1837 stated that weekly or monthly

papers "are sent to all the schools in Prussia and France at public expense," and in 1838 *The Educator* of Pennsylvania proposed the use of translations and quotations from the "fifteen or twenty school journals" which were then issued in Germany. Moreover, the educational journals were to some extent imitations, in the field of education, of similar publications in other fields — literature, science, art, and medicine. "It seems strange that almost every art, science, and profession has its peculiar vehicle of information," said the prospectus of the *Academical Herald and Journal of Education* (which was projected in 1812 but was never published), "while the science of education is without its advocate. Law, medicine, and divinity, commerce, agriculture, and even the fashions and follies of the age have their 'journals,' while the art of improving the human mind, the source whence all the others derive their consequence, is abandoned to chance or neglect." The prospectus urged as necessary a journal "in which proper plans and modes for the treatment and instruction of children could be published." Whether the explanation of the origin of educational journalism in this country is found in imitation of European practices or in rivalry to journalism in other fields, it is clear that these early periodicals had definite and positive influence in the awakening that came during the last two decades of the ante-bellum period.

Report on European conditions. Murphey's report. Observations and impressions of travelers in Europe and official reports on conditions there had served also to give educational leaders and the public generally an acquaintance with better educational plans elsewhere. One of the earliest of these reports, local in effect but showing European influence, was made to the legislature of North Carolina in 1817 by a committee of which Archibald D. Murphey, known as "the father of the common schools" of that state, was chairman. This report (which Murphey himself wrote)

outlined in rather full detail a complete public-school plan, including "a gradation of schools regularly supporting each other, from the one in which the first rudiments of education are taught to that in which the highest branches of the sciences are cultivated." The report was presented after a general study of education in the United States and a careful study of conditions and needs in North Carolina. It revealed some acquaintance with conditions in Europe, especially "the plan which was drawn up and adopted by the national convention of France," it showed some familiarity also with the methods of Lancaster and of Pestalozzi, and it recommended as a sound basis of instruction "the excitement of the curiosity of children."

The plan included a state board of education to manage the school fund and supervise the schools, provision for elementary schools and secondary schools, respectable support for the university (which had been chartered in 1789 and had opened in 1795), and provision for an asylum for deaf-mutes. Although somewhat advanced for the time and somewhat resembling Jefferson's proposed plan for Virginia in 1779 and Condorcet's proposed plan for France in 1792, the report failed to accept fully the democratic principles of education. Murphey, like Jefferson, would give preference to poor children, who were to be educated for three years in the elementary schools free of any charges



ARCHIBALD D. MURPHEY

"Father of the Common Schools of
North Carolina"

for tuition, "books, stationery, and other implements for learning"; and, like Jefferson, he would advance to the secondary schools such of the poor children "as are most distinguished for genius and give the best assurance of future usefulness." He proposed also that "during the whole course of their future education" these were to be "clothed, fed, and taught at public expense." On this point the plan was not so definite as Jefferson's. The number of these *Elèves de la patrie* (as Condorcet called them) was left by Murphey's plan to the state board of education, which was also to provide for "some just and particular mode" of advancing the children from the elementary schools to the secondary schools and on to the university. The proposal was too Utopian for the time and the state; and the bill based on it disappeared from the records after passing its first readings in both Houses. But with the impracticable features and the charity element eliminated, it later became the basis on which North Carolina built a fairly creditable ante-bellum school system.

Victor Cousin's report. A report on education in Prussia, which Victor Cousin officially made in 1831 to the French government, was reprinted in England three years later and in New York City in 1834, and had considerable influence in the United States. During these years there was wide interest in political and social reforms in this country, and efforts were made to learn what Germany had done and what France was trying to do to improve education in those countries. When Cousin's report appeared the district system of school support and control had been strong here for many years and the strength of localism was gradually increasing. His account of education in Prussia showed the authority of the state in the support and administration of education, emphasis on the training and certification of teachers, and the effectiveness of compulsory school attendance — practices which had not yet developed in the United

States. Here each little community was a law unto itself in school matters, few parents felt it their duty to send their children to school, and there was no legislation to compel them to do so. The contrast with the Prussian practice was striking. The duty of parents to send their children to school "is so national," says Cousin, "so rooted in all the legal and moral habits of the country, that it is expressed by a single word, *Schulpflichtigkeit*" (school duty, or school obligation), which corresponded "to another word, similarly formed and similarly sanctioned by public opinion, *Dienstpflichtigkeit*" (service obligation, or military service). Cousin believed that these "completely characteristic" words of Prussia contained the secret of the originality of the people, its strength as a state, "and the germ of its future condition."

Parts of this report were printed in nearly all the score of educational periodicals which were established in the United States before 1840, and the advanced educational ideas which it contained served to strengthen the position of the advocates of public education in this country. Its influence seems to have been definitely felt in Massachusetts, where it gave support to the work of Horace Mann, Charles Brooks, and James G. Carter, and in Michigan, where John D. Pierce and Isaac E. Crary, in the constitutional convention of 1835, worked to make education a distinct branch of the new state government, to create a chief state school office, and to establish schools upon the basis of state support and control rather than upon a local basis.

Calvin Stowe's report. Another official report on European schools which had influence in this country was made in 1837 to the legislature of Ohio by Calvin E. Stowe, who had been sent the previous year to Europe to purchase a library for the Lane Theological Seminary, where he was a professor. The legislature had requested him to take a look at the schools and to report his findings, and the result was

his "Elementary Education in Europe," in which he contrasted conditions in Prussia and Württemberg with those in Ohio. He discussed especially the direction and thoroughness of instruction, the training of teachers, and the elementary course of study which had been enriched through the influence of Pestalozzian reforms. He recommended all



CALVIN E. STOWE

these improvements for the schools in Ohio and elsewhere in this country. He anticipated the argument that the Prussian plan was "visionary and can never be realized," and answered it by declaring that "it is no theory that I have been exhibiting, but a matter of fact, a copy of actual practice. . . . It can be done; for it has been done—it is now done: and it ought to be done. If it can be done in Europe, I believe it can be

done in the United States: if it can be done in Prussia, I know it can be done in Ohio," declared Stowe.

If Stowe's theme failed to stir the emotions of multitudes as did his wife's drama of the abolitionist creed, the report was less narrow in range and more permanent in appeal than "Uncle Tom's Cabin," the sensation which a dozen years later ran into millions of copies. The report aroused the interest of legislators as well as of educators, and much of the educational advancement of the remainder of the ante-bellum period can be traced to its influence. The legislature of Ohio ordered ten thousand copies printed and

distributed to every school district in the state, and later it was ordered reprinted by the legislatures of Massachusetts, Michigan, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Virginia.

Reports by Bache and Barnard. Other reports on European schools reached this country during the next few years. In 1836 A. D. Bache, president of Girard College for Orphans (founded in Philadelphia under the will of the famous merchant Stephen Girard for the education of orphans), was instructed by the trustees of the institution to visit similar institutions in Europe. The result was Bache's "Education in Europe," which was published three years later and which contained valuable material on Pestalozzian methods and other practices in Holland and Germany. A few years earlier Charles Brooks, who labored so earnestly for an educational awakening in Massachusetts, learned about the Prussian school system from Dr. H. Julius of Hamburg, who was a fellow passenger with Brooks from Europe to the United States. Julius later addressed the committee on education of the Massachusetts legislature; and although his address led to no action by that body, it was printed by that state and later by New York. During the years 1835-1837 Henry Barnard visited Europe and, through his journals, later discussed the educational practices which had impressed him. Moreover, in 1854 he collected and published, under the title "National Education in Europe," the most important parts of earlier reports on the subject, together with results of his own researches and studies.

Horace Mann's report. Perhaps the most distinguished and influential of all these reports was the one made by Horace Mann in 1843 to the State Board of Education in Massachusetts, of which he was secretary. In this report (known as his seventh), which followed his visit to Europe in that year, he described and appraised educational conditions in England, Scotland, France, Germany, Belgium, and Holland, with reference particularly to the materials

and methods of teaching, the classification of pupils, discipline, and the training of teachers. It was filled with copious facts and ideas, and reflected the open-mindedness of Mann, who showed few prejudices to things foreign to his own country and sought to report conditions exactly as he found them. One of the most delightfully written official reports ever made in the United States, this work by Mann is well-nigh famous, not because it is readable nor yet because it aroused a protest from the conservatives and led to a controversy with the Boston schoolmasters which made in large part Mann's high place in the educational history of this country; it is important chiefly because it led to the improvement of the educational conditions in his own land, which, contrasted with the best that he had seen in Europe, he deeply deplored and sharply criticized. He suggested that Americans could learn from Europe much about the management of schools: "It seems to me that it would be most strange if . . . many beneficial hints for our warning or our imitation could not be derived." He did not hesitate to say that "there are many things abroad which we, at home, should do well to imitate. . . . If the Prussian schoolmaster has better methods of teaching reading, writing, grammar, geography, arithmetic, etc., so that, in half the time, he produces greater and better results, surely we may copy his modes of teaching these elements, without adopting his notions of passive obedience to government, or of blind adherence to the articles of church."

Educational conventions and memorials. Progressive educational sentiment was reflected in conventions, in official state surveys, and in reports and memorials to legislatures. Conventions of one kind or another in the interest of education were held in almost every state. In New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania organizations of teachers and other friends of schools held meetings and prepared addresses to the public and memorials to lawmaking bodies.

The Western Academic Institute and Board of Education, formed in 1829, sent advocates of better schools up and down Ohio, made Cincinnati the center of educational publicity for that part of the country, and urged the legislature to commission Calvin E. Stowe to study and report on European schools; the Illinois Educational Convention, with delegates from more than half the counties of the state, met at Vandalia in 1834 and a decade later at Peoria, with practical results; the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Public Schools, with a membership of two hundred and fifty, began a movement in 1827, and issued addresses to the public which resulted in practical educational legislation in that state seven years later; the North Carolina Institute of Education, to promote the general education of the people of that state, was organized at Chapel Hill in 1831.

Conventions in Virginia. Although the slaveholding states did not accept the democratic doctrines of education so fully as some of the free states because of slavery, the aristocratic conception of education, sectarian interests, the rural character of the South, and poor means of communication, which retarded the revival spirit, yet a new consciousness on the subject of education was being aroused in that section of the country also. The agitation for better schools was particularly strong in the western counties of Virginia, where slavery was less extensive and where the influence of the middle class was making itself felt. In the autumn of 1841 an educational convention was held at Clarksburg (now in West Virginia), which was attended by more than a hundred delegates, many of whom were very prominent. About the same time another convention was held at Lexington and was presided over by Dr. Henry Ruffner, president of Washington College (now Washington and Lee University) and father of William H. Ruffner, Virginia's educational leader from 1870 to 1882. Ruffner

prepared and had presented to the legislature a report which pointed out the defects of Virginia's school system and recommended state taxation, a state board of education, a state superintendent, normal schools, and public libraries. The chief weakness of the plan appeared in the proposal that, although the schools were to be supported by taxation, the local school officers were to designate the families most worthy of aid.

A convention held in Richmond about the same time was attended by many members of the legislature. A memorial to the legislature and an address to the people were prepared, and a bill based on the plan proposed by the meeting later passed the House but was rejected by the Senate. In 1845 another convention met in Richmond, presented a memorial to the legislature, and proposed a plan for a state superintendent, state support for schools, and provisions for training teachers. Some improved legislation resulted, but the weakening element of charity persisted to the close of the ante-bellum period. In the late eighteen-fifties, however, two sessions of the Virginia Educational Convention were held in Richmond, when the state's educational arrangements were severely criticized, particularly by Governor Henry A. Wise. As a result, attention turned definitely toward questions of reform: the complete abolition of the element of charity, the establishment of state supervision and control, the coördination of the elementary schools and the higher schools, and provision for the training of teachers. The plan proposed was to supersede the system then in operation and to correlate all educational agencies in the state. Resolutions passed by these conventions deplored "the feature of charity to paupers" as odious and degrading, recommended the organization of a teachers' association, and discussed the "ignorance and hopeless degradation of infant operatives employed in cotton and woolen factories." Despite these manifestations of interest, however, practically

nothing was achieved for substantial educational improvement in Virginia during the closing years of the ante-bellum period.

Survey reports in South Carolina. Awakened interest was expressed in South Carolina also. As early as 1838 Governor Patrick Noble requested the legislative appointment of a commission to examine the school system of the state and to recommend needful alterations in it. The reports of the commissioners were placed the next year in the hands of a special commission composed of Professors Stephen Elliott and James H. Thornwell of South Carolina College, who reported to the legislature. In 1846 the State Agricultural Society appointed a committee to study and report on the "defects of the present school system." The result was a report by R. E. W. Allston the following year. About the same time a committee was appointed by the legislature for the same purpose and made its report through the chairman, Henry Sumner. All three reports recommended state support and state control and provisions for the training of teachers, but no practical results followed, and the state held back from establishing an adequate school system before 1860.

The agitation in Tennessee. An educational convention was held in Knoxville in 1847, and a memorial was sent to the legislature recommending state support, state supervision, the examination and certification of teachers, and the publication of a monthly educational journal; but nothing came of the proposed legislation. In 1853 Governor Andrew Johnson declared that the school system fell short of the "imperative commands of the constitution" and urged the legislature and the people to "lay hold of this important subject with a strong and unfaltering hand." Three years later a bill to establish a normal school failed on the third reading in the legislature on account of sectional jealousies in the state.

In Georgia and Alabama. Efforts were made in Georgia in 1845 and again in 1858 to improve the public schools of the state. At the latter date an enthusiastic educational convention attended by delegates from sixty counties was held at Marietta, an address to the people of the state was prepared, and a state board of education, a state superintendent, state support for schools, and the preparation of teachers were recommended. Near the close of the antebellum period a meeting of the advocates of public education was held in Atlanta during the exhibition of the Southern Central Agricultural Society, and the legislature was memorialized for schools "to which the children of the poorest parents shall be sent, without submitting parent or child to the jeer of pauperism. . . . Schoolhouses which shall awaken a feeling of pride in every neighborhood, and cause the richest to feel that no private teaching can afford equal advantages to the common school. . . . We must have *free public schools* in every school district in Georgia." In 1858 Governor Joseph E. Brown urged the legislature to establish an adequate school system for the state, but it failed to do so before 1860. The Alabama Educational Association, formed in 1856, held several meetings before the war, numerous local educational associations were also organized, and the *Alabama Educational Journal*, established by Superintendent William F. Perry in 1857, aided in the development of progressive educational sentiment. Educational conventions were held in the other Southern states also, but few of them before the outbreak of the war established school systems on the principles of public support and control. Perhaps the nearest approach to this ideal was made after 1852 in North Carolina under the superintendency of Calvin H. Wiley.

The lyceum movement. Perhaps the most effective educational agency which touched the lives of adults during the second quarter of the nineteenth century developed

through the lyceums, those popular and voluntary societies of citizens who sought to coöperate in "the great and dignified cause of universal education." The movement sprang from democratic and spontaneous influences, and attempted to realize that patriotic injunction of George Washington's in his "Farewell Address" to "increase the institutions for the diffusion of knowledge among men." Originating in Millbury, Massachusetts, in 1826 through the work of Josiah Holbrook, it became nationally organized into the American Lyceum, which held its first meeting in New York in 1831. Its principal objects were the "advancement of education, especially the common schools, . . . the general diffusion of knowledge," and the promotion of other projects for social betterment. In the support of lecture courses (its main activity, into which were sent "some of the ablest and some of the most specious men of the times") it probably helped to make the way for the Chautauqua, so closely linked with the names of John H. Vincent and Lewis Miller, and the university-extension movements of more recent development; its effort to establish "itinerating county libraries" was an early anticipation of one of the best ideas in the modern library movement. The lyceum appeared in almost every state; as early as 1835 there were, in addition to the national organization, fifteen or sixteen state organizations, more than a hundred county organizations, and three thousand town and village organizations throughout the country. According to the *American Annals of Education* for July of that year, "The most general interest prevailed in some of the Southern states, especially Georgia and South Carolina, where the lyceum had been taken up with spirit." Flourishing in the North and East before 1860, the lyceum as an institution later became conspicuous in the West and the South, where the lecturing movement has remained popular. Among the names early conspicuous in the lyceum were Edward Everett and William C.

Woodbridge of Boston, Denison Olmsted of Yale College, Thomas H. Gallaudet of Hartford; John Grissom of New York, Thomas S. Grimké of South Carolina, B. O. Pears of Kentucky, Philip Lindsley of Tennessee, and Alva Woods of Alabama. Lyceum orators included Henry Ward Beecher, Wendell Phillips, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Horace Greeley, George Wilham Curtis, and Abraham Lincoln.

Educational leaders. In addition to educational journalism, reports on what was being done elsewhere, conventions and memorials to legislatures, and the lyceum movement, other influences were at work during the second quarter of the nineteenth century in behalf of better schools for the masses. But the most important forces in the awakening were the labors of a few documentary characters who were intelligent in leadership, apostolic in fervor, tireless in industry, and marked by a quiet willingness to be forgotten. True, the awakening was the result of the combined efforts of many forces, for then as now reformers could do nothing alone; but the history of education in the United States during the first half of the nineteenth century is in large part the biography of a few leaders and dreamers, at whom much fun was sometimes poked in their day and on whom bitter attacks were frequently made. For then as now the conservatives and the so-called practical man of affairs had a humorous contempt for frontier thinkers, to whom, however, civilization owes its every advance despite the perpetual belief of the practical man that he is the atlas on whose shoulders lie all the problems of society.

Some of these early educational leaders — Horace Mann and Henry Barnard in the East, Calvin Wiley in the South, and Caleb Mills in the West — stand out among the most prominent, but because of the measure of his actual achievements and the extent of his influence Mann is recognized chief among them all. The educational awakening in which

he had such a conspicuous part in Massachusetts was not sudden. For two decades before he became secretary of the state board of education there, definite preparation was being made for the movement of which he is known as the leader. Perhaps the one man who did most to prepare the way for him was James G. Carter, whose place in American educational history is no less important because the leadership of the man for whom he really prepared the way was more spectacular.

James G. Carter. A short time after his graduation from Harvard in 1820, at the age of twenty-five, Carter began to teach and to write on educational subjects. His pamphlet called "Letters on the Free Schools of New England," which described the glaring defects of education in that section and pointed out many of the weaknesses of the district system, drew public attention to the need for improvement and for the training of teachers. Bad teachers and bad texts were pointed to as the chief causes of backwardness. Carter maintained the suggestive point of view that the incompetency of teaching was due more to business and professional competition than to the negligence and indifference of the public. He classified the men teachers into those who looked upon teaching as easier and a trifle more remunerative than common labor, those who used it as a stepping-stone to some other employ-



JAMES G. CARTER

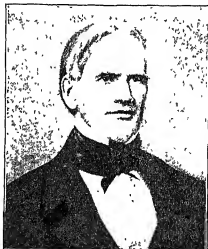
ment, and those who, knowing their weakness, despaired of distinction in any other occupation. Later his "Essays upon Popular Education" in which he outlined a plan for the training of teachers, and his unsuccessful effort to have the legislature establish an institution for that purpose in 1827, gave him the title of "Father of Normal Schools." Largely through his influence also Massachusetts enacted in that year the first public high-school law. Ten years later, while a member of the legislature, he secured, through remarkable parliamentary skill, the passage of legislation creating the State Board of Education. To the secretaryship of this board Horace Mann, who had had a decade of experience in the lower house and in the senate of Massachusetts, was appointed.

Horace Mann and his educational philosophy. Mann was a year younger than Carter, came of a family of straitened rural circumstances and rigid Calvinism, and had received only a meager schooling in youth; but at the age of twenty he was prepared in six months, by private instruction, for the sophomore class at Brown, where he made a brilliant record. He was graduated at the head of his class in 1819. The subject of his graduating oration was "The Gradual Advancement of the Human Species in Dignity and Happiness," a theme which reflects a characteristic belief of the man throughout his life — the improvability of the race through education.

Mann now turned from a career in the law, for which he had prepared and which he had practiced successfully. He abandoned opportunity in politics, in which, through legislative experience, he had labored for humanitarian and social reforms and had used his influence to advance the best movements of the time. As president of the Massachusetts senate he had signed the act that created the position for which he was selected and in which he served for twelve years with effectiveness and distinction. As soon as he had

accepted the post he offered his law books for sale and his office for rent. "The bar is no longer my forum. I have abandoned jurisprudence and betaken myself to the larger sphere of mind and morals." The next generation was to be his client. "Men are cast iron, but children are wax," he said. "I devote myself to the supremest welfare of mankind upon earth. I have faith in the improvability of the race—in their accelerating improvability."

Conditions in Massachusetts. The need for reform of the public schools was urgent in Massachusetts as elsewhere at that time. In all the states there was a lack of financial support, the term was short, the equipment was poor, and the teachers were inadequately trained. There was no supervision, committees did not visit the schools, and in two thirds



HORACE MANN

of the towns teachers were allowed to begin their schools without being certificated as required by law. There was a confusion of textbooks, and one third of the children were absent from school in winter and two fifths of them in summer. Conditions were no better even in New England. As late as 1847 the average length of term for all the schools in Maine was "eight weeks and five days to thirteen weeks and four days, for all counties." In the same year less than one tenth of all the children of school age in Vermont had as much as seventy days' schooling a year, and 6500 attended from twenty to thirty days a year, 5600 from

ten to twenty days, 4300 for less than ten days, and 1800 had no schooling at all. The report was similar in Rhode Island, where more than one third of the children "attended no school for any part of the year." And in 1840 two sevenths of the 70,000 children of Connecticut "never went to school at all, with the exception of a moderate deduction to be made for those rich enough to attend private schools and academies."

Mann's effort at reform. Mann met similar conditions in Massachusetts when he began his work as secretary of the Board of Education. He turned at once to the tasks of reform. He secured and published reports on the deplorable conditions of the district schools in an effort to improve public sentiment and to make the people face the facts. He traveled up and down the state organizing and addressing public meetings and conventions, and he issued annual reports which revealed the defects of the schools and contained recommendations for correction — reports which as official documents from state departments of education have remained in a class by themselves for readableness, directness, and simplicity. These, as well as his educational addresses, revealed Mann as a master of effective language, often even eloquent and generally shot through with imagination and feeling. In addition to these two methods for arousing the public from indifference on educational matters, he edited the *Common School Journal*, through which he appealed to teachers and citizens generally in behalf of better schools. Particularly significant are these methods when it is recalled that Mann began with a meager salary and with no allowance for office or clerical assistance, and that throughout his service as secretary means of transportation and communication were slow, and the fountain pen and typewriter had not come into common use. Added to the sad plight of the schools themselves were other obstacles which stood in the way of this tireless worker. He was opposed by

all conservatives and those of pronounced prejudices—"sordid politicians, unprogressive schoolmen, and sectarian preachers," many of whom did not hesitate to attack him in Sunday sermons and, through a hostile religious press, to tear regularly into him.

Sectarianism in Massachusetts. Denominational feelings and sectarian bias ran strong in Massachusetts as in other states at that time. The long and strong monopoly of schools by the church made the battle to eliminate sectarianism from education no less fierce than the struggles which waged over public support, public control, and the contest to remove the taint of charity from public schools. The change from religious to secular control was very slowly made in the old states and only after bitter struggles. In many cities church and private schools had shared in public-school funds; in Pennsylvania they had been aided from public sources until 1834. The coalition of church and private-school interest had worked the repeal of New Jersey's first general school law of 1829 and later had forced to themselves a share of the public appropriation for schools. In New York the sectarian fight had been taken to the legislature in an attempt to divide the public-school funds among envious and contentious religious denominations; but out of this conflict rose the New York City Board of Education and state legislation that public funds could not be used in any school which taught, inculcated, or practiced "any religious sectarian doctrine or tenet."

The sectarian fight was particularly bitter in Massachusetts, and the question which Mann had labored years before to settle was not finally settled until 1855. While a member of the legislature Mann had made a speech against religious intolerance, and the narrow religionists, whose number was considerable, had neither forgiven nor forgotten him for his liberal views. When he became secretary of the Board of Education they attacked him and it and assailed the

public schools as Godless. They urged that local communities had the right to have religious instruction in their schools if they desired it, and insisted that if they were deprived of that right they were justified in withdrawing their public support of education. The issue was drawn clearly, but Mann met it squarely in public letters and through his reports, answering the criticisms and pointing out errors in arguments. He believed that the Bible was highly valuable as an aid to the building of character, but that it should be read without comment in the schools and not taught in them. Deeply religious but no narrow sectarian, he warned against any attempts to teach creeds and dogmas which he believed would destroy public education. So bitter was the controversy that an effort was made in the legislature in 1840 to abolish the State Board of Education and the normal schools. The fight continued to wage until the adoption, fifteen years later, of a constitutional amendment which the people had rejected in 1853.

The struggle on the question was intense in other states. It was finally settled generally by statutes or constitutional amendments, though echoes of the ancient fight have occasionally resounded in some states in connection with the public support of higher education. In laws and constitutional provisions after 1850 the monopoly of the Church in education — especially in the elementary schools — gave way to the increasing power of the State. The aims of the school, which had been religious during the colonial period and the early years of the national period, gradually became civic. The subject matter of instruction came slowly to be purged of sectarian and denominational elements, control of education shifted from the Church to the State, and prohibitions were set up against the diversion of public-school funds to contending religious sects who had sought public aid for the propagation of their own peculiar beliefs. The principle of nonsectarianism which was established

through such bitter struggles was just as essential to the development of the American school system as was agreement upon the principles of public taxation and public supervision. Any other arrangement would have meant confusion and ultimate disaster to education.

Mann's famous controversy. Mann's skill as a fighter for causes in which he believed is exhibited best perhaps in his contest with the Boston schoolmasters, which arose out of his seventh report (1843), in which his praise of the Prussian schoolmasters caused those of Boston to suffer in contrast. The first reception of the report was very enthusiastic, but thirty-one school principals of Boston resented such expressions of Mann as "ignorance of teachers" and "sleepy supervision" and issued a keen reply, called "Remarks upon the Seventh Report of Mr. Mann." It ran to one hundred and forty-four pages. Two months later Mann replied with much severity to the extent of one hundred and seventy-five pages. Some of the principals published a "Rejoinder," to which Mann replied in "Answer to the Rejoinder to the Reply to the Remarks on the Seventh Report," which closed what is probably the most celebrated controversy in all American educational history. Private criticism naturally annoyed him, but in defense of the report he wrote: "There are owls who, to adapt the world to their own eyes, would always keep the sun from rising. Most teachers amongst us have been animated to greater exertions by the account of the best schools abroad. Others are offended at being driven out of the paradise which their own self-esteem had erected for them." But in this as in his other less spectacular fights Mann triumphed. Public opinion had been won to his side, and men like Josiah Quincy, Charles Sumner, Edward Everett, John G. Whittier, and others—merchants, bankers, and professional men—flocked to his support and raised \$5000 among themselves and appealed to the legislature for a like amount to be used for the improvement

of the normal schools. The outcome of the controversy strengthened public confidence in Mann and helped greatly to give him eminent place among educational statesmen.

Mann's achievements. Mann's achievements were significant during the dozen years of educational leadership in Massachusetts, which was itself the educational leader of the country. The financial support of public schools doubled, two millions were expended for improved school buildings, salaries of teachers greatly increased, a month was added to the annual school term, supervision improved and respect for skilled superintendence arose, three state normal schools were established, numerous high schools were developed, and public-school libraries were popularized. Mann undertook to improve methods of teaching and textbooks, to develop a professional consciousness among the teachers, and to place school discipline on a more nearly rational basis. These achievements were important not only in themselves but as indications also of a better educational outlook.

Mann's wide influence. Mann's influence extended not only to neighboring states, which copied the school plans of Massachusetts, but penetrated also to states in the West and elsewhere. Through the work of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, the distinguished educator and publicist of South America, Mann's influence reached that continent also. Sarmiento visited the United States from August to November of 1847, saw much of Mann, whom he described as "a noble promoter of education," and on his return submitted to the secretary of public instruction in Chile a report of his trip which revealed the visitor as an apostle of education in the United States. In an important book, "*De la Educación*," which he published in 1849, he printed sections of the school laws of Massachusetts (directing especial attention to the fact that elementary education was there supported in part by general tax), described the normal schools and the training of teachers, and, in treating the subject of

state control, gave considerable attention to the system in the state of New York. His summary of the educational doctrine then being slowly accepted in the United States was this: "Primary education is a branch of public administration. The State presides over education, directs and inspects it." The book influenced the secretary of public instruction to draft an organic school law for Chile, but it was so bitterly fought that a less progressive bill was enacted in 1849. However, from Sarmiento's work, inspired largely through Mann, dates the pervasive influence of the United States on educational affairs in Chile and also in Argentina, where Sarmiento served for two years as governor of the province of San Juan. In 1863 Sarmiento was sent as the representative of the Argentine Republic to the United States, where he continued his study of education. A treatise (the result of his investigations), which he sent two years later to the Argentine secretary of public instruction, contained a translation of the life of Mann. "If I could give any advice to the South American governments," Sarmiento said, "it would be that they procure the greatest possible number of copies of the writings of Horace Mann and scatter them freely in every city and village."

As president of Argentina for a term of six years, beginning in 1868, Sarmiento was in a position to put into practice some of the educational reforms which he had for many years advocated. He signed a law granting a subsidy for the establishment of a normal school of agriculture, established two national normal schools, brought university professors from foreign countries, and approved appropriations to purchase school furniture in the United States and to bring women teachers from this country to Argentina. Legislation was enacted also to promote the public translation of certain North American works on education and on the constitutional history of the United States. In 1873 Sarmiento issued a decree reorganizing the curricula of the secondary

schools of the Argentine Republic according to a plan patterned closely on the work of secondary schools in the United States. One of his most influential books was called "Schools, Basis of the Prosperity and of the Republic in the United States." Mrs. Mann wrote an introduction to the translation of Sarmiento's "Life in the Argentine Republic," in which she acknowledged that her interest in the subject had arisen "both from a personal one that grew out of his peculiar relations with my husband . . . and from a deep interest in the nation whose highest aspirations rather than whose actual conditions he represents."

Mann's later career. Mann continued his work as secretary of the State Board of Education until 1848, when he was selected from Daniel Webster's congressional district to take the seat in Congress made vacant by the death of John Quincy Adams. He served out the unexpired term (he had lost the regular renomination by a very small margin through the opposition of Webster and the party machine of the state), was elected as an independent candidate by a large vote, and served in Washington until 1853, when he was an unsuccessful candidate for governor. Mann soon cast his lot with the fortunes of Antioch College, at Yellow Springs, Ohio, where he went as president and where he died in 1859. In 1938 the hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the secretaryship of the Massachusetts Board of Education drew fresh attention to Mann's distinguished work and influence. November 9 of that year was observed as Horace Mann Day.

Henry Barnard. Henry Barnard, the peer of Horace Mann in most respects, if not all, was born in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1811, attended the common schools and later an academy, entered Yale at the age of fifteen, and was graduated four years later. Like Mann, he prepared for the practice of the law but turned aside to teach, then spent from 1835 to 1837 in Europe studying schools (especially those in which Pestalozzian methods were used),

became on his return a member of the Connecticut legislature from Hartford, and promptly proposed and secured in 1838 the passage of a bill to create a state board of education after the manner of Massachusetts. Barnard became its first secretary at wages of three dollars a day and traveling expenses, arranged educational conventions in every county, visited schools, carried on correspondence with more than two thirds of the teachers of the state, wrote on school architecture, and spoke at numerous meetings in behalf of the common schools, which he found in no better condition in Connecticut than Mann was finding them in Massachusetts. Through the *Connecticut Common School Journal*, which he established and edited, through his annual reports (the first one of which the famous James Kent, in his



HENRY BARNARD

"Commentaries," called a bold and startling document which "contains a minute, accurate, comprehensive, and instructive exhibition of the condition and operation of the common-school system"), and by other means he aroused the people of the state on the subject of schools. The awakening seems to have been too sudden, however, for in 1842 the politicians followed the way New York had taken in 1821, when Gideon Hawley, too active as the first superintendent of schools in that state, was removed and his office abolished.

Barnard's resourcefulness and achievements. But Barnard was more resourceful than Hawley had been. He went

over to Rhode Island and addressed the legislature in joint session on the subject of education — an effort which is said to have been one of the greatest of his life. The result was the enactment of a law similar to that which Connecticut had passed and later repealed. Barnard became the first commissioner of education in Rhode Island, where he served effectively and with distinction until ill health forced him to leave. Meantime he had greatly improved the educational conditions of the state. He secured taxation for schools, distributed more than sixteen thousand educational pamphlets, established libraries of at least five hundred volumes in nearly all the towns of the state, encouraged the development of teachers' institutes for the training of teachers, promoted a traveling model school to demonstrate the best methods of teaching, and, after five years, left with a testimonial of regret from the teachers and a legislative vote of thanks for the able, faithful, and judicious manner in which he had performed his tasks — doubtless to the humiliation of Connecticut, which had legislated this eminent man out of office. But that state must have repented, for Barnard returned and served with marked success as principal of the normal school of Connecticut and ex-officio secretary of the State Board of Education from 1851 to 1855, when ill health again drove him from official life. In the latter year he helped to establish the American Association for the Advancement of Education, became its first president, and began the editing and publication of the *American Journal of Education*, which ran to thirty-two stout volumes and sucked up his fortune. Three years later he published his "Pestalozzi and Pestalozzianism," which in its revised form has remained perhaps the best source of information in English on the subject. He directed as president the University of Wisconsin from 1858 to 1860 and served as president of St. John's College in Maryland for a year before his appointment in 1867 as the first United States Commis-

sioner of Education, a position which he filled with credit until 1870. This "scholar" of the awakening, as he has so aptly been called, died at the ripe age of eighty-nine, full of honors and of great achievements.

Calvin H. Wiley. In their fitness for educational leadership, in the problems which they faced, in the policies which they pursued, and, to a considerable degree, in the reforms which they achieved as chief state school officers, there are striking similarities between Horace Mann in Massachusetts and Calvin H. Wiley in North Carolina. Wiley was born on a farm in Guilford County in 1819, the year of Mann's graduation from college, and was prepared for college by David Caldwell, one of those effective teachers who found their way from Princeton and established academies in the Southern states in the late eighteenth century. Caldwell's "log college," located near Greensboro in 1767, soon became one of the most important institutions of learning in the South. From it Wiley entered the University of North Carolina, where he was graduated with high honors in 1840. Later he studied law and located at Oxford for the practice of his profession, edited the *Oxford Mercury* from 1841 to 1843, and still later became associate editor of the *Southern Weekly Post*, published at Raleigh and devoted to civic, educational, and industrial improvement.

As a member of the legislature in 1850 he introduced and worked for a bill which provided for the office of state superintendent of schools. The proposed legislation was unsuccessful; but two years later it was enacted, largely through the influence of Wiley, who was again a member of the legislature. Although a Whig in politics, he was appointed to the new position by a large majority of the legislature, which was Democratic. He took office in January, 1853, and served continuously as superintendent of schools until 1866, when he retired to private life. In 1872 and again two years later he was proposed as the Conservative candidate for the

superintendency, which had now become an elective office, but he declined to offer himself for the post because the public schools had been brought into partisan politics. But

Caldwell, among other things, said that the people of North Carolina had long resisted any change in their routine legislation, and that they resisted any taxation beyond such as was required for the bare necessities of the government; compared conditions in North Carolina with those in the states which had made most improvement; pointed to the plight of the thousands of the people of the state who could not read; and declared that many of the people were indifferent to education, and that some of them boasted of their illiteracy. He discussed the economic and material conditions which resulted from inadequate education, pointed out the obstacles in the way of provision for schools, and showed how they could be removed. One of these obstacles was "the aversion with which we recoil from laws that exercise constraint upon our actions. We are people whose habits and wishes revolt at everything that infringes upon an entire freedom of choice upon almost every subject." He believed that provision for the general instruction of the people could scarcely be made "without some compulsory measures regulating the actions of individuals into particular channels directed upon the object." He proposed plans for improvement and appealed to the legislature to lead the way. "And how shall the confidence and the affections of the people be regained?" he asked. "It is by stripping off the offensive and contemptible disguise, and presenting Education in all the beauty and excellence of her proper character. No sooner shall this be done than all will fall in love with her. Her presence will be courted as the privilege and ornament of every vicinage, and under her patronage the clouds and mists that lower upon us will be dissipated." Wide discussion of conditions followed Caldwell's criticisms. The first school law of the state was enacted in 1839; and by 1853, when Wiley began his work as the chief school officer of the state, a fairly creditable educational plan was in operation in North Carolina.

Conditions in North Carolina. This defect made Wiley's task very difficult. County school officials were notoriously negligent of their duties as prescribed by law, localism was strongly entrenched, teachers were poor in preparation and migratory in habits, schoolhouses were primitive, textbooks were nondescript, and there was much misinformation and prejudice concerning public education. Sectional, sectarian, and partisan critics launched attacks both upon the schools and upon Wiley, who was trying to purge the public schools of the fatal taint of charity, which had so long attached to them, and to elevate them "from the position of a beneficence to a class to that of a fundamental interest of all the state." He attacked these and many other problems with admirable patience, intelligence, resourcefulness, and energy. He was reappointed in 1854 without any opposition, although there were wild rumors that the office would be abolished, and was continuously reappointed to it by a legislature of political opponents. In a few years the danger to the public schools, which had been threatened by sectarianism, by the private-school interests, and by partisan politics, was decreasing, and Wiley and the cause for which he worked continued to gain in public esteem.

Wiley's methods and achievements. Wiley conducted campaigns for better schools in every part of the large state, the trips being made usually by private conveyance and at his own personal expense. With no allowance for office or for travel during his early years as superintendent, the cost of these efforts to arouse public interest in favor of improved educational facilities often required half his salary. But the task never discouraged him. He collected facts about school systems in other states and made comparisons with his own. Through reports to the legislature, through the state educational journal, which he founded and edited, through the state teachers' association, which he organized and led, through newspaper articles, speeches, and conferences,—

through all these he created and directed an increasingly wholesome public opinion in behalf of common schools, which he viewed as a "vast and sublime moral organization" for the state. He encouraged and coöperated with Braxton Craven in the work of Normal College, and urged improved provisions for the training and certification of teachers. He had published "The North Carolina Reader," at his own expense before he became superintendent, but he disposed of his interest in it immediately afterwards; it became and remained a standard in the schools, and helped to create and foster a wholesome spirit among the masses. Other texts prepared under his direction, from which he took no financial revenue, were also widely used.



CALVIN H. WILEY

Wiley believed fully in the principles of free and universal education by public support and under public control, and was decided in his advocacy of education for the negroes when they became citizens after the war. He shared with Mann the strong belief that the public schools could be made so superior to private schools that they would be universally recognized, and that the aristocratic conception of education would pass away. It was not only in the state that his leadership was recognized and his services were in demand; calls frequently came to him from other states for lectures, addresses, and educational advice. Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia sought to copy the educational

example of North Carolina. Wiley was invited to appear before the legislature of Georgia to aid that state in improving its schools. He tried to bring into harmony with the democratic principles of education every feature of the schools which his close observation found clashing with them, he "touched with a most cautious hand" every irregularity, and he used every effort "to make the schools grow in efficiency and usefulness as well as in public affection." He found it easy, just as chief state school officers have since found it and now find it, "to give opiates and tonics: but how was the glow of permanent health to be infused into a system, not mortally sick, but wasted and emaciated with obstinate, complicated chronic disorders?"

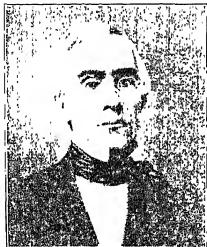
Wiley's annual report of the work of the schools for 1860, which appeared a little more than two months before North Carolina joined the Confederacy, showed that 150,000 of the 221,000 school children were enrolled in more than 3000 schools, that 2700 teachers had been licensed during the year, that more than \$100,000 had been collected in local school taxes, that the average annual school term was four months, and that the average monthly salary paid teachers was about \$26. He pointed to the growing tendency to build new and better schoolhouses and to improve the qualifications of teachers. At the meetings of the State Teachers' Association in the closing years of the ante-bellum period the principal subjects discussed were teacher-training and the better grading of the schools; according to Wiley the chief defect of the schools was their horizontal character, "furnishing one kind of education for children of all ages, and of every degree of advancement." A very wholesome educational sentiment continued during the war. Shortly after hostilities began the press of the state had urged renewed efforts to prevent the suspension of the schools. "In the name of the good people, and especially the children of the State, let none of the schools be abandoned," advised the

Raleigh Standard; and the *Charlotte Democrat* declared that "the children of the State must be taught to read and write, war or no war." In his message to the legislature in November, 1864, Governor Zebulon B. Vance begged that body not to forget the schools amid the great concerns of war. "Our great system of common schools is, after all, our only true and solid foundation for public education and demands your constant and fostering care." When Johnston surrendered in April, 1865, Wiley was receiving official reports from the school officers of the various counties; but during the dark days that followed, while efforts were being made to reestablish the relations of the state with the national government, political matters absorbed public interest and the schools received little attention.

Caleb Mills. Caleb Mills was born in New Hampshire in 1806. He was graduated from Dartmouth College in the class of 1828, which numbered forty members, ten of whom, according to Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, became effective educational workers; he traveled for two years in Kentucky and Indiana in the interests of the Sunday-school movement; he then returned and entered Andover Theological Seminary, from which he was graduated in 1833. He had been greatly impressed with the educational needs of the West, and while a student at Andover he had read in the *Home Missionary* an article by James Thomason, a minister of Crawfordsville, Indiana, stating that a school was soon to be begun in that community "where a competent number of teachers may be trained to be spread over the country to teach the children of this rapidly populating district."

Conditions in Indiana. Mills wrote Thomason a letter practically outlining the plan of a campaign, which he later led, to arouse a more lively interest in the need for education, to change public sentiment, to overcome prejudice, and to awaken the public mind "to the importance of carrying the

means of education to every door" — achievements which he knew would require "the work of years." Confident in the regenerative power of wisely directed general education and moved by the need of the Wabash country, this apostle of enlightenment "cast his lot with the pioneers of learning in this wilderness of illiteracy." "They are the most ignorant people in the world," General Arthur St. Clair, governor



CALEB MILLS

of the Northwest Territory, had said in 1790. "There is not a fiftieth man that can read or write." In 1840, seven years after Mills had begun work in the school that became Wabash College, one seventh of the entire adult population was illiterate, and Indiana stood lowest in literacy of all the free states. A decade later the number of illiterates had increased "to one in every five, and Indiana had fallen below

many slave states." It was to improve these backward educational and cultural conditions that Mills gave, directly or indirectly, more than forty years of his life. During most of this time he served Wabash College, took an active interest in religious and educational affairs in the state, and easily became familiar with the conditions and needs of frontier life. Many of the educational reforms between 1846, the date of the first of his six messages to the legislature, and 1879, when he died, can be traced to his influence.

In 1816 the constitution of Indiana had declared it to be the duty of the legislature, "as soon as circumstances will

permit," to provide for a general system of education, from township schools to a state university, "wherein tuition shall be gratis and equally open to all." A school law had been enacted eight years later which permitted a district tax or rate bills for school support. There was little educational progress and no additional school legislation, however, until 1836, when an act — a gesture toward state taxation — was passed ; but, bitterly opposed, it soon became a heated political issue and was repealed in 1837. An act of 1841, like earlier laws, did little more than legalize the practice of using public-school funds to aid private schools. Nothing more of educational importance was done by the legislature until Mills began to publish in the *State Journal* a remarkable series of "addresses to the Legislature," which appeared on the opening day of the sessions of that body in 1846 and the succeeding years, and of the constitutional convention which followed. The documents were signed "One of the People" and came to be known as the "Read, Circulate, and Discuss" pamphlets.

Addresses to the legislature. Mills expected it to be thought that he had gone out of his place in calling the attention of the governing authorities of the state to their educational duty. He did not hesitate to say that education had not received from the governors and legislators such care as the needs of the people demanded. In his appeals, marked by tact and courtesy, there was little if any reproach or bitterness ; but although the tone of the addresses was kindly and their style logical and clear, they sparkled occasionally with an irony which bit without apology into "the appointed guardians of the commonwealth." The only apology he offered for his presumption was the importance of the subject. He believed that proper and efficient action in it would "awaken no sectional jealousies, alarm no religious prejudices, and subserve the interests of no political party," but would benefit every part

of the state, improve all classes of the people, give permanency to their civil and religious institutions, "increase the social, literary, and intellectual capital of our citizens, and add materially to the real and substantial happiness of everyone." The dividends from public education would be paid, he said, "at the fireside of every freeman in the commonwealth" to the children of those who make the investment, in a currency that would never depreciate as long as knowledge and virtue were valued and appreciated.

Mills boldly pointed to the large number of children who were deprived of the means of an education which "should be the birthright of all, without distinction of rank or color." He appealed to the governor and the legislators to face the "whole truth, know the worst, and provide for it." In the legislature were members from rich and populous counties who perhaps did not know that "a sixth, fourth, or third of their constituents could not read the record of their legislative wisdom, nor peruse the eloquent speeches delivered in these halls and spread over the state at the expense of the commonwealth." The representatives from Jackson, Martin, Clay, and Dubois counties, where only a little more than half the people could read and write, "must feel themselves very much relieved from the burden of sending newspapers and legislative documents." He pointed out that the states with the best schools were those whose people were "willing to pay for their support from year to year." He believed that a permanent public-school endowment which relieved the state of taxation was less a blessing than a curse (a fact that Connecticut had learned to its sorrow many years earlier), and criticized severely the management of Indiana's school lands. He noted that the state had borrowed millions for physical improvements, but had not "raised a dollar by ad valorem taxation to cultivate the minds of our children. No wonder we have had log-rolling legislation and practical repudiation! No marvel that

Indiana faith has been synonymous with Punic faith and her credit for years a byword in the commercial world." He used arguments which are now axiomatic in this country to show that education increases economic prosperity.

The succeeding messages followed the theme of the first, with emphasis now on one feature of an adequate public-school system and now on another. He urged legislation that was simple and plain in its meaning, wise and effective in its provisions, "and practical and energetic in its operation," and showed how such a law could be passed. His arguments for supervision have not been greatly improved upon even by the most enthusiastic advocates of the present. He noted that banks, roads, and courts required supervision and inspection. He preferred to lose his "bank stock (if I had any) through the dishonesty of a cashier, break my wagon through the negligence of an indolent road supervisor, or be defrauded of my property through the incompetence or corruption of a court, than to expose my children to the influence of ignorant and unprincipled, profane, and intemperate teachers." It would be vain, he said, to provide public funds for schools without adequate provision for competent supervision.

Mills's advanced views. Mills saw only one way to secure good schools, and that was to pay for them, and only one way to make children desire to attend schools, and that was "to make them what they ought to be." In his plea for safe and comfortable physical equipment there is rebuke for the guardians of the scores of thousands of miserable school buildings which still remain in the United States, especially in the rural areas. Then as now bright and promising children passed for blockheads in school when their dullness could be charged in part to the unwholesome conditions to which they were exposed. His reports while he was state superintendent of public instruction from 1854 to 1856 reflect advanced views of public-school administration,

and his effort in 1857 to have the high office divorced from partisan politics and viewed as a professional post revealed a perspective which many of the states have not yet gained. "The father of the common schools of Indiana" did not believe, with the enemies of educational reform, that teachers should be chosen by precincts and superintendents of

schools be chosen within established geographical boundaries.

Enlistment of the help of others. Mills did not work alone. His first message had appeared in the same year that a state common-school convention was held; his second, in 1847, coincided with the recommendations of that organization for a secular school system open to all and free from the taint of charity and pauperism, for funds by taxation for schools, for standard qualifications and salaries for

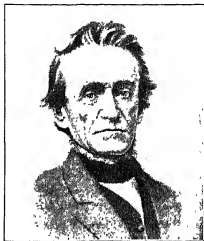


SAMUEL LEWIS

teachers, for a state superintendent and efficient supervision, and for improved schoolhouses and more suitable schoolbooks — reforms which Mills himself was urging. As a result of these efforts the legislature ordered a referendum in 1848 on the subject of tax-supported free schools. About 78,500 people voted in favor of the proposal and 61,887 voted against it. The following year the legislature enacted a school law authorizing the counties to levy taxes on property and insurance premiums and poll taxes for school purposes, only after the counties had voted in favor of

these means of school support. Another defect was the provision that private schools could, in the discretion of the township trustees, participate in the public-school funds. The vote in 1849 showed about 79,000 in favor of the plan and 63,312 opposed to it, but fifty-nine of the ninety counties voted to accept the law, which, even with its defects, was a more substantial educational foundation than the state had ever before provided. Two years later the constitutional provision for public education was strengthened, and in 1852 a greatly improved school law was enacted, with mandatory taxation one of its important provisions.

Leaders in other states. Educational pioneers appeared in other states during the period of the awakening and worked for the same causes, if not always so effectively and conspicuously, as those for which Mann, Barnard, Wiley, and Mills had worked. There were John D. Pierce and Isaac E. Crary, who were influenced by the report of Victor Cousin, and worked together in Michigan to have education made a branch of the state government with proper supervision. Pierce became the first superintendent of public instruction in that state. There were Samuel Lewis and Samuel Galloway in Ohio; Robert J. Breckinridge in Kentucky; John Swett in California; Ninian Edwards, who in 1854 became the first state superintendent of schools in Illinois and who worked to make the schools free; Alexander



SAMUEL GALLOWAY

Dimitry, who in 1847 became the first state superintendent in Louisiana; William F. Perry, who served as the first state superintendent in Alabama; and Robert McEwen, who served as the first state superintendent in Tennessee from 1836 to 1840, but lost his educational usefulness in a cloud of scandal through the mismanagement of the school funds.

These educational leaders and the other forces with which they worked had helped to remove some of the obstructions out of the way of the public school. Much progress had been made by the close of the ante-bellum period to make the schools free and nonsectarian, to place them under public support and control, and to improve their organization. Some progress had been made also in a few of the states in the training and licensing of teachers, and here and there efforts were made to provide better schoolhouses. Slowly the school term, which at best was shamefully short, was being extended. Massachusetts in 1852 had made little more than a gesture toward compulsory-attendance legislation, the only state to do so before 1860. Public high schools were slowly appearing. By 1860 there were approximately 321 such schools, with 167 reported in Massachusetts, New York, and Ohio, and about 246 colleges and universities, only about a score of which, however, were wholly or in part state institutions. For the most part they were denominational in control and supported by tuition fees, subscriptions, and dribble gifts of religious sects. In general, educational opportunity was being widened. But the district system was strong, localism was stubborn, expert supervision was almost unknown, the schools, even of elementary grade, were nowhere fully free, and the principle of public control had not yet been completely accepted when the war of 1861 to 1865 broke out over the issue of slavery. That conflict exceeded in bitterness any struggles that had yet been waged over the democratic theory of education; but with legalized slavery removed the way of public education was to become clearer.

By their warfare against ignorance, illiteracy, and indifference and for a diffusion of knowledge among the masses the dreamers and humanists of the ante-bellum period occupy places in the American awakening no less worthy than those whose names are well known in military matters, politics, letters, or science. All of them labored for unpopular causes; but they were brave enough to tell the people the truth, even though it hurt, and to make them face the facts in efforts to shock them out of their deadly complacency and into appreciation of learning and active interest in its cause.

The place of the leaders in the awakening. These leaders sought to enlighten the public mind on the benefits of public schools when the private schools were the only respectable educational agencies, when the idea of education at public expense was scorned as communistic, and when the need for universal education was not generally felt. They urged concern for the underprivileged and looked with compassion upon physical, mental, and moral delinquents at a time when feeble-mindedness, insanity, or other deformities were viewed as practical jokes played upon puny human beings by a capricious God. They advocated gentleness and kindness in the schools when discipline within and without the schoolroom was severe; when most people believed themselves conceived in the sin and born in the iniquity of the old Adam, which must be removed by a rod of iron. They urged that the school should be a happy place, when enjoyment of any kind was generally frowned upon as wicked and unregenerate. They recommended enriched and vital courses of study — music, physiology, hygiene — when few urbanities were allowed to flourish in education, when sanitation was practically unknown, and when disease was viewed as a vengeful visitation of Providence and bathtubs as undemocratic and un-American. They urged the training of teachers, state support and state control of education. child-labor and compulsory-attendance

legislation, and free schools for all at a time when the people thought of democracy as the privilege to do as they pleased, and when equality was in reality only skin-deep.. Most of these ante-bellum educational leaders while laboring for such unpopular reforms turned neither to the right nor to the left. They closed their careers as frontier thinkers and workers in the "larger sphere of mind and morals" with many enduring monuments about them. In the light of their problems and their achievements they were true to conscience and the common weal, and bade defiance to ignorance always and everywhere.

Other struggles. But the American principles of education were not yet fully established, notwithstanding the new forces at work during the first half of the nineteenth century and the work of the educational leaders of the ante-bellum period. The principles of public support, public control, and free, universal, and compulsory education, and the idea of training teachers and of extending public educational effort beyond the elementary school, had not been accepted in general practice anywhere in the United States by 1860. Before these principles could be practically and widely applied other struggles had to be waged.

This chapter has covered in a general way the work of educational publicity and propaganda, of official reports on conditions in Europe, of conventions, memorials, surveys, and of the lyceum movement in preparing the way for the educational awakening of the second quarter of the nineteenth century. It has also described the important work of certain educational leaders whose influences were widely felt in the struggles to establish the American principles of education. But not all these struggles were decisively won by the close of the ante-bellum period; some continue to be waged now. The contest over the principle of public-school support is the subject of the next chapter.

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QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Contrast the problems which faced the ante-bellum educational leaders with those facing present-day educational leaders.

2. What means of effective educational publicity are available to chief state school officers now which were not available to Mann, Barnard, Wiley, or Mills?

3. Study and evaluate the arguments offered by Monroe and Judd (References and Readings) to support their positions concerning the origin of the elementary school of the United States

4. In what way or ways were the examinations and reports on schools in South Carolina "educational surveys"? Compare those examinations and reports with a modern school survey.

5. Consider the letters of Caldwell in North Carolina and those of Mills in Indiana. Each of these men was an "outsider," but there is little or no evidence to show that either was criticized for pointing out the educational and cultural shortcomings of his adopted state. What would probably be the public response to such criticism today?

6. Contrast educational conditions in this country in 1850 with those in 1950. Why was educational progress so uneven in the second quarter of the twentieth century? Consult *The Forty-Eight State School Systems*, written by The Council of State Governments.

7. Compare the school plan prepared by Jefferson for Virginia in 1779 with Murphey's plan for North Carolina in 1817, and point out similarities. Was Murphey's plan entirely democratic? Was Jefferson's?

8. Read Mann's seventh report and note the parts to which the conservative Boston schoolmasters would be likely to object.

9. Make a study of the lyceum movement in your state. Compare the lyceum with the present-day Chautauqua.

10. Consider the battle which was waged over sectarianism, taking Massachusetts or New York as an example, and point out any troublesome survivals of the question now.

11. Compare or contrast the curriculum of the elementary and secondary schools in Mann's time with those of today.

CHAPTER IX

SECURING PUBLIC SUPPORT

Outline of the chapter. 1. A greater proportion of public funds derived principally from taxation is now absorbed by education than by any other function of the state government

2. Although the principle of school support by this means is now accepted, the struggle over it has been long and stubborn, objection to taxation and the dread of taxation being the main obstacles to the principle.

3. Before taxation was secured many methods of school support were used. Teachers were often paid in kind and in part by "boarding round." Tuition fees, rate bills, and indirect taxes of many kinds were in wide use.

4. In the early days lotteries were popular means of raising funds for schools and for other enterprises. Permanent public-school funds, or "literary" funds, were also established as means of public-school support. In some states these funds encouraged local taxation.

5. In time it became evident that taxation was the only safe and just means of public-school support. But even permissive taxation, the first step, was resisted, lawmaking bodies moving cautiously in authorizing taxes for schools.

6. The element of charity in education and the rate bill were features of school support that were difficult to remove. Both these features were generally found in the early educational arrangements, and survivals of them may be seen today.

7. In the struggle to secure taxation the work of Thaddeus Stevens in Pennsylvania is conspicuous, his speech on the subject being very effective.

8. The story of public-school support emphasizes the importance of state taxation and the need for increased state funds, but local taxation remains today the chief source of public-school support in most of the states, increased educational burdens being assumed and borne by this means.

9. Notwithstanding increased school funds, devotion of the people to localism in school support results in gross inequalities in educational opportunities. Although the American people are rich enough to spend upon education all that they will spend, the principle of complete public-school support has not yet been fully and practically applied in every American community.

When John D. Rockefeller was earning his first money and learning to swim and to catch perch with a bent pin in the neighborhood of Owasco Lake in the eighteen-forties, his father was working in the interests of the district school there. He found the center of the school district by driving from the north to the south boundary and counting the number of times the wheel of the buggy turned. Then he drove back for half as many revolutions, stopped, and there located the plain frame schoolhouse, in which a Sunday school was also conducted. Such a chore in early public-school control, as Chapter X shows, was simple, but no simpler than public-school support, which, like school control, had its simple beginnings in the small local community or district.

Large sums expended. As pointed out in Chapter I, education now absorbs a greater proportion of public funds than does any other governmental function. More than one fourth of the net total of all public expenditures goes for public elementary and secondary schools and higher education, with the figures running to almost three billion dollars a year. Significant is the comparison of the cost of public education with that of the combined local outlays for police and fire protection, streets, and some other public services. The revenues for school support come principally from public taxation — the means by which the people of a local community or a state secure the benefits of those things which they need but cannot have except by collective purchase. The public pays taxes to itself, and has slowly learned that when they are fairly levied and properly applied they become investments in its own well-being.

Long and stubborn objection to taxation for schools. School support by public taxation is today so widely accepted in this country that it is somewhat difficult to believe that this principle of American education was forced to develop through violent opposition and struggle. But, as in

the case of each of the other principles of public education in the United States, sentiment in favor of this means of school support grew slowly. Even after the beginning of the national period the attitude of the public was indifferent and often hostile to the principle of taxation for schools for all the people, and direct taxation for the support of education was difficult to levy. Effective state supervision and control came slowly also, laws which were intended to encourage public schools were at first permissive and difficult to enforce, the income from permanent public-school endowments was not always used exclusively for educational purposes, and the endowments themselves were not infrequently mismanaged and exploited for private ends. During the long period through which public education struggled for recognition it was confronted at almost every turn with indifference or contempt or open hostility. These obstacles stood definitely in the way of the support of schools by public taxation. Although the American people now accept the principle that the state has the right and the power to raise sufficient funds for the support of schools for all its members by taxation on the property of all its members, they came to accept it after much argument and delay and after numerous other means had been tried and found to be unsatisfactory.

Objection to taxation. Objection to taxation remained one of the most stubborn of all the obstacles to school support. "Money is very scarce, and the times are unusually hard" observed the writer of an open letter published in a Raleigh newspaper in 1829 and addressed to the members of the legislature of North Carolina. He asked why the matter of taxation for common-school support was "never broached in better and more prosperous days." He believed that the old-field tuition schools, in which so many people had jogged along uncomplainingly, were ample for all educational necessities, and stated that those then in operation were not all filled. "Would it not redound as much to the advantage of

young persons and to the honor of the state," he asked, "if they should pass their days in the cotton patch, or at the plow, or in the cornfield, instead of being mewed up in a schoolhouse, where they are earning nothing?" He thought that too much ado was being made about education, that it was not necessary "that everybody should be able to read, write, and cipher. If one is to keep a store or a school, or to be a lawyer or physician, such branches may perhaps be taught him; though I do not look upon them as by any means indispensable; but if he is to be a plain farmer, or a mechanic, they are of no manner of use, but rather a detriment." Common schools called for additional taxes, he pointed out, and he asked "any prudent, sane, saving man" if he desired his taxes to be higher. Answering the argument "that our state is far behind her sisters in things of this sort," he said the fact proved only that the other states "are before us," which was their affair. "We shall always have reason enough to crow over them, while we have power to say, as I hope we may ever have, that our taxes are lighter than theirs."

"The savage pays no tax." Shortly after the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, Benjamin Franklin wrote that everything appeared to promise that it would last, though he promptly added, "But in this world nothing is certain but death and taxes." Thirty years later Sydney Smith, the English essayist and wit, wrote about the beardless youth managing his taxed horse, which wore a taxed bridle, on a taxed road; and the dying man pouring out his medicine, on which he had paid a tax of 7 per cent, into a spoon taxed 15 per cent, flinging himself back upon his chintz bed, on which he had paid a tax of 22 per cent, and expiring in the arms of an apothecary, who had paid a license tax of a hundred pounds for the privilege of putting him to death. Both Franklin and Smith, as well as the writer of that letter to the legislature of North Carolina a century

ago, expressed the ancient belief that taxation is evil, as calamitous as death, and to be evaded and avoided if possible. On the other hand, Charles D. McIver, a North Carolina educational reformer, expressed the view that taxation which is both justly levied and properly applied is a mark of civilization. He noted that the savage pays no tax. But he could well have pointed out how difficult it had always been, and still was, to persuade or force the people of this country to pay taxes for the support of schools.

The dread of taxation. If it was unfortunate that the beginnings of education in this country should have been made and nurtured by philanthropy, it was equally unfortunate for the cause of public schools that the quarrel with King George should have turned on a matter of taxation. The use of philanthropy in the support of schools accustomed the people to the view that education was not a responsibility of the state, to be maintained by it through taxation, but a charity for the poor when given by the state at all. The quarrel with England helped to instill into the people a terrifying dread of taxation in any form or for any purpose. True, philanthropy, although mindful most often of the poor and neglected, rendered useful educational service; but through the means which it often employed the vicious element of charity became attached to practically all forms of education not directly provided by parents or guardians. The struggle to gain school support for all has been bitter throughout the history of America because of the hatred of taxation, and it is often resumed even now when legitimate extensions of educational effort are proposed. The way of public-school support has been hard in the United States.

Many methods of early school support. While taxation for education was slowly making its way many other means of school support were being used. The expenses of students at Harvard during its early life were often paid in produce.

The account book of the institution revealed such items as "a sheep weighing sixty-seven pounds; two bushels of wheat; thirty-five pounds of sugar; eight bushels of malt; a bushel of parsnips; thirty pounds of butter; three bushels and three pecks of apples; four quarters of a wether; three quarters of a lamb; a quarter of beef; a fat cow; eighteen yards of satin; five yards of kersey; three yards of yellow cotton; two thousand nails," and Governor Joseph Dudley of Massachusetts satisfied the college accounts of his son largely in Indian corn.

Salaries of teachers in grammar schools were often paid in such commodities, the agreements generally specifying "provisions," "half in wheat and half in other corn," a certain part "in corn-pay" and a certain part in money, or "one half in silver money, and the other half in good merchantable boards, at the current and merchantable price," and peas, rye, oats, and barley. A teacher in Portland for fifteen years just before the American Revolution received much of his pay in cordwood and produce. One New England town, on being incorporated in 1725, ordered through town meeting that a teacher be engaged to instruct in reading and writing. No action was taken for more than a year, and then it was proposed in town meeting that the teacher's salary be the same as that of the minister. The motion was lost, as were also other motions made successively to make the salary "forty pounds, thirty pounds, twenty pounds, and five pounds." Finally the sum of three pounds was voted as the salary for the teacher, who should keep the school "at his own house and to find himself diet."

However, poorly paid teachers were not always without other reward, as the American public has been taught to believe. The town of Malden, Massachusetts, hiring Ezekiel Jenkins for three pounds a year and the benefit of certain fees from his scholars, gave him a tombstone on which appeared these words: "Malden's late schoolmaster from a

painful life is gone to take his rest. His Lord hath called him home." There is the inference here that the poor teacher was to receive reward in another world for his many discomforts in this. Records of many New England towns ordering the selectmen or commissioners to engage teachers "as cheap as they can" or "on the best terms" reflect a popular practice which prevails in some places even now. Historically, the typical American community has not required encouragement to economize in paying its teachers.

Part pay in board. In the early days school support was borne in part by adding to the teacher's small wages the cost of his board, which was to be had at the cheapest place in the neighborhood. Records of the boarding experiences of the early teachers are numerous. The following experience of a New England teacher in the closing decade of the eighteenth century differs little from conditions in some communities today, especially in those remotely rural places where the teachers must put up with discomforts and even deprivations in their living arrangements:

Having been informed where I was to board, I set out for my new home on foot, carrying the greater part of my wardrobe on my back, and the remainder tied up in a bandanna handkerchief. On arriving at the place of my destination I found my host and hostess, Mr. and Mrs. Fairbanks, ready and apparently glad to see me. They were to receive for my board, lodging, and washing, 67¢ per week. Their house was made of logs with only one room in it, which served for parlor, kitchen, and bedroom. I slept on a trundle-bed, which during the day was wheeled under the large bed, where the master and mistress of the house reposed during the night.

Boarding the teacher around with the pupils (an arrangement which was used to reduce the cost of direct school support) was a popular practice in all the states from the early days and even far into the nineteenth century. In some states it prevailed until after the Civil War. Some

teachers fared better, of course, than others. Among those who were fortunate for a time was that "huge feeder" Ichabod Crane, who showed partiality for the homes of his pupils who had pretty sisters or mothers famed for the "comforts of the cupboard." But not all teachers have been so favored by the female circles of rural neighborhoods. A



ICHABOD CRANE'S SCHOOL

After a drawing by F. O. Darley, by permission of G. P. Putnam's Sons

teacher in the Hartford district as late as 1825, hearing that boarding around had been voted for him, seemed resigned to his fate "to live on *sgun* all winter" — a dish of the hog-killing season, when it was customary to fry for the family dinner certain portions "consisting of the liver, pancreas, and perhaps the kidneys, possibly some of the thoracic viscera also." The hogs were killed as the master went the rounds of boarding, "so that there would be fresh meat for him."

Taxation for schools difficult to secure. Nowhere in the early days were provisions for education readily and cheerfully made by governing authorities, and under special stringency they were not made at all. Many were the devices resorted to in an effort to provide for school support without the use of direct taxation. The records reveal tuition fees, rate bills, taxes on banks, licenses on occupations and commodities, the use of lotteries, gifts, and bequests, and the income from permanent public-school endowments, fines, forfeitures, and penalties, as sources of school support. Among other sources (before the community acknowledged the right to tax the property of all its members for educational purposes) appeared taxes on natural and artificial curiosities, on traders in negroes, on the sales of runaway slaves, on billiard tables, on marriage licenses, and on liquors, innkeepers, hawkers, tenpin alleys, dogs, peddlers, and auctioneers. Funds were occasionally derived from fines on officers convicted of neglecting to execute the law respecting the swine of the town, on sales or rentals of church pews, on revenue from bank and canal stocks, on income from saline lands, and even on any income that could be extracted from the sterile pine barrens "subject to the periodical inundations of the Tombeckbee River." It is a long cry, however, from these uncertain means to the certain plan of general and direct taxation on property which every state finally came to recognize as the safest and most sensible plan for school support.

Every step contested. Progress to this final stage of school support was slow, and every step was bitterly contested. Henry Barnard reported that a member of the legislature of Rhode Island in the eighteen-forties declared that a bill which Barnard was supporting to provide a small state tax for schools could not be enforced in that state, even at the point of the bayonet, if it should be enacted into law. A farmer of the same state threatened violence if the

educator were ever caught on the property of this Cincinnati preaching such a horrible "heresy as the partial confiscation of one man's property to educate another man's child." About the same time a member of the legislature of Indiana expressed the desire to leave posterity in no doubt as to his position on the subject of state support for schools by having engraved on his tombstone "Here lies an enemy of free schools." Proposals for the extensions of education are even now resisted in many places.

The use of lotteries. The lottery, believed by some people to be evil, fought by the early labor groups as a pernicious form of taxation, and now prohibited in every state and hunted down in every hole by Federal agents, was for many years a popular source of support for public schools of all grades as well as for religious and benevolent purposes. Much money was raised by this means. The state itself conducted the lottery or sold the privilege to individuals or organizations, or it collected a part of the receipts from the sale of lottery tickets. When the ethical sensitiveness of the public sharpened to the point of taking offense at the state's serving as gambler, even for good purposes, then the state generally came to use this source of income without seeming officially to place the stamp of approval upon the evil.

At Columbia. The *New York Mercury* for May 31, 1754, carried an announcement signed by Samuel Johnson, who was in charge of the newly established King's College (now Columbia University), stating: "The chief thing that is aimed at in this college, is, to teach and engage the children to know God in Jesus Christ, and to love and serve him in all Sobriety, Godliness, and Richness of life, . . . and to train them up in Virtuous Habits." One declared purpose of the college was to provide for the students "a serious, virtuous, and industrious course of life." The same issue of the newspaper carried an advertisement of a public lottery of five thousand tickets at thirty shillings each, "832 of which are

to be fortunate," for the benefit of the college. Rhode Island used lotteries for the support of the common schools and also to increase the principal of its permanent public-school endowment. Between 1812 and 1838 Congress passed more than a dozen joint resolutions to authorize lotteries for educational purposes in the District of Columbia, which used this means of support for its first public schools.

In North Carolina. The public conscience of North Carolina in 1801 saw no evil in using the lottery for promoting religion and education, and the president of the university of that state today advises youth on those and other worthy subjects from a room in a building erected in part by the smiles of the goddess Fortuna. The trustees, in the infancy of this first American state university to open its doors, were expected to use their personal influence to procure purchases of the lottery tickets, the immediate sale of which involved "the interests of the University of North Carolina, and of Learning and Science generally throughout our State." Perhaps it should be said for the moral attitude of the time that the pleasures of lotteries were seldom indulged in only for the sake of gambling, but to aid some worthy cause at a time when to use property taxes for schools was viewed by many people as a public immorality.

In New York. In 1801 New York authorized four lotteries for the purpose of raising \$100,000, one eighth of the revenue to be used to encourage academies and seven-eighths for the aid of the common schools. The Public School Society of New York received some of its funds from licenses to dealers in lottery tickets. The practice enjoyed official sanction until the constitution of 1821 frowned upon it as a public activity. In 1810 Delaware authorized a lottery for \$10,000 for an academy. The president of Delaware College resigned in 1835 because he believed that money received from lottery licenses and accepted by the trustees for use

in the institution was tainted. The trustees, a trifle pricked in conscience, hit upon the plan of refusing to accept the fund from the hands of the evil managers of the lottery, but received it from the treasurer of the state, to whom it was turned over, and after the legislature had by special action properly appropriated it to the institution. Funds for the support of an ambitious educational plan in Louisiana in 1805 were to be raised by lotteries, and two were used in that state in 1820 for the support of the school system.

Lotteries widely used. Schools, colleges, academies, and other enterprises were aided by lotteries. A dozen or more academies were aided by more than \$110,000 in Mississippi after that state was admitted to the Union. A lively discussion on the morality of lotteries followed the introduction of a bill in the legislature of North Carolina in 1827 to permit this means of support for an academy which was in danger of closing its doors. Members voted against it either because they could not "reconcile lotteries to their principles, or because they did not believe the school in danger," but more voted for it. One advocate, in defending it, pointed to the practice in "the great state of New York." Another declared that he could vote for a lottery intended for a good purpose, "to prop up a declining school, for instance," with as much cheerfulness and as little reproach of conscience as he could speculate in cotton "where there was a chance of involving his family in ruin." Another, observing the tendency of men "to venture," believed that it was good policy to provide the opportunity "to keep our money at home." He pointed out that the legislature had authorized lotteries since "the first establishment of our government," and that the practice had been sanctioned "by every member of the Union." The same session that legalized this lottery declined to appropriate twenty-five cents to buy books for many poor children who were then being taught by Sunday schools to read and write.

Permanent public-school funds. Change in sentiment on the subject of taxation for school purposes began to appear in the second quarter of the nineteenth century as the ideal of democracy grew clearer. There is a noticeable change in the thirties and forties as Jeffersonian democracy more fully flowered. Meantime the change in sentiment was being influenced also by the establishment of permanent public-school endowments, popularly known as literary funds or school funds, the income from which was designed for public-school support. This form of educational support assisted in fostering and encouraging the growth of the present conception of education as a public concern and duty, and in nearly every state in the Union the public-school system was begun and set in motion by this method of financial support. These permanent public-school funds served to destroy opposition to taxation for schools by developing a wholesome educational sentiment and by stimulating local initiative and community enterprise, but these were not the purposes of such funds when they were established.

Notwithstanding the conditions which early opposed free schools, public sentiment was never unanimous against them. In most communities there were always a few public-spirited citizens who looked with favor on proposals for public schools and believed that public education was a necessity as well as an opportunity to promote an intelligent and happy citizenship. These leaders believed that the state had an obligation to make provisions for public schools; but the discharge of such a duty called for funds, and there was almost everywhere a dominating sentiment against taxation for anything except the necessary expenses of government. Schools were not yet generally considered a state obligation, and permanent endowments showed promise of furnishing greatly needed assistance.

Interest stimulated by land grants. The national land grants also stimulated an interest in schools. When Ohio was

admitted to the Union in 1802 the grants of lands for purposes of education (see Chapter VI) were confirmed to that state and given state-wide application. Each state afterwards admitted received the sixteenth section for school support and two or more sections for the support of higher education. In 1803 this policy of land endowment for schools was extended by Congress to those states to be formed out of the Mississippi Territory, and in 1826 this same principle was extended to the area acquired through the Louisiana purchase. But the older states, not sharing in these congressional land grants, turned to the establishment of permanent public-school funds on their own account: Connecticut and Delaware before 1800, New York in 1805, Tennessee in 1806, Virginia in 1810, Maryland in 1812, New Jersey in 1816, Georgia in 1817, Maine, New Hampshire, Kentucky, and Louisiana by 1821, and Vermont, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts by 1834. South Carolina seems to be the only old state that did not establish some kind of permanent public-school fund before 1860. In some of the states the funds accumulated before any use was made of them for school purposes; in others they were used chiefly to provide schooling for poor children.

Purposes of permanent funds. The oldest aim or incentive for establishing a permanent public-school fund is illustrated by the act of 1795, which established such an endowment in Connecticut. But the result was unexpected and unwholesome: the fund failed to make the schools free, the increase in its income gradually checked the tendency to raise local school taxes, and from 1821 to 1854 practically the only sources of school support in Connecticut were the income from the school fund, from gifts, and from rate bills, which were not abolished until 1868.

Stimulation of local taxation. Other states profited by Connecticut's costly lesson. It was clearly demonstrated that an endowment should not entirely relieve a state or a

community from local school burdens, but should stimulate and encourage local effort for school support. Any other principle would not only be a moral injury to the community and to the cause for which the fund was provided, but would mean death to the cause of schools if the people were entirely relieved of all responsibility for their support. Therefore another aim in establishing school funds was to encourage local taxation. The earliest example of this principle is found in the case of New York, where it was never contemplated that the fund, established in 1805, should yield sufficient revenue to support the schools entirely. The principle adopted here was that of local taxation, and before a community could participate in a distribution of the revenue of the fund an amount equal to its share had to be raised by local levy. This principle has been generally accepted as the soundest and most stimulating to the cause of school support and, with certain modifications, soon came to be widely adopted in the United States. North Carolina seems to have been the first of the Southern states to adopt it in the distribution of income from its ante-bellum educational endowment.

In spite of their importance as stimuli to the growth of education the record of carelessness and indifference with which public-school endowments have been managed is one of the lamentable and melancholy chapters in American educational history. This record was practically universal in the early days, before education had won its proper place in public interest. Educational funds were then rarely guarded with the jealous care that their importance and sanctity demanded. Moreover, the careless manner in which they were handled showed the indifference that confronted the early movement for public schools.

Mismanagement of permanent funds. Few of the states, if any, entirely escaped from the evils of mismanagement and the exploitation of public-school funds. The tendency

toward careless management appeared early and continued for many years, more rigid control by additional legislation proving but little insurance against loss. Among the recorded causes of loss may be seen almost every species of violation of public trust. In some cases the school funds were grossly and shamefully diverted from their original purposes; in other cases their management was indifferently intrusted to incompetent officials, and the result was unwise investments; in still others loans were insufficiently secured and interest was often defaulted. Dishonest management and embezzlement by officers intrusted with the care of school funds caused other losses. Happily, however, there are but few gross examples of this form of loss. The most flagrant case perhaps is found in Tennessee, where in the late thirties Robert H. McEwen, the first superintendent of public schools in that state, succeeded in using a large part of the school fund for private purposes. Failures of banks in which school funds were invested, the use of the school funds for meeting the current expenses of the state government, and the repudiation by the state of debts due to the school funds were other forms of wrongs committed against public education. It has been pointed out that if the Federal grants applied by Arkansas to its permanent school fund had been properly managed, that state would now have a permanent endowment of about \$92,000,000, which would yield an annual revenue of \$4,600,000, "more than a third of the total amount Arkansas expended for public schools in 1920." Instead of such a sum, Arkansas has "a nonproductive fund whose paltry income of \$74,000 is, from the standpoint of a productive endowment, a pure fiction." Considering the enormous losses which have resulted from the careless management of permanent public-school funds throughout their history, the question arises whether such funds should any longer be established or those now in existence should be held by the states in perpetuity.

STATE	AMOUNT	HOW USED
Alabama	\$669,086.78	Education
Arkansas	286,751.48	General purposes
Connecticut	764,670.61	One half to education and one half to general purposes
Delaware	286,751.48	Education
Georgia	1,051,422.09	One third to education and two thirds to general purposes
Illinois	477,919.13	Education and internal improvements
Indiana	860,254.44	One half to education and one half to general purposes
Kentucky	1,443,757.40	Education
Louisiana	477,919.13	General purposes
Maine	955,838.27	General purposes
Massachusetts	1,338,173.57	General purposes
Maryland	955,838.27	Education and general purposes
Mississippi	382,335.31	General purposes
Missouri	382,335.31	Education
Michigan	286,751.48	Internal improvements
New Hampshire	669,086.78	General purposes
New Jersey	764,670.61	General purposes
New York	4,014,520.71	Education
North Carolina	1,433,757.40	Education and internal improvements
Ohio	2,007,260.36	Education
Pennsylvania	2,867,514.80	Partly for education
Rhode Island	382,235.31	Education
South Carolina	1,051,422.09	One third to education and two thirds to general purposes
Tennessee	1,433,757.40	General purposes
Vermont	669,086.78	Education
Virginia	2,198,428.04	General purposes

NOTE This table shows the distribution of the surplus revenue in 1837 which served as a stimulus to education in many of the states. The amount each state received and the purpose for which it was used are given according to F. W. Blackmar's "History of Federal and State Aid to Higher Education," p. 46.

The surplus revenue. Notwithstanding mismanagement and exploitation these permanent public-school funds served to increase the means of school support greatly during the ante-bellum period. In many states they were largely increased by the distribution of the surplus revenue in 1837 (see table above). In some states, as already noted, the

income from the funds was used for the education of the poor, a policy followed in large part by Virginia, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and Georgia; in others it was used to stimulate local taxation for school purposes, North Carolina furnishing a good example of this plan. The permanent fund was created in that state in 1825, but it was not used until 1839, when the first public-school law was enacted. Under that legislation the counties received from the income of the literary fund two dollars for every dollar which the counties raised by taxation for school purposes. In 1860 more than \$200,000 was disbursed from the state's permanent fund for the support of schools.

Decline of permanent funds. By 1890 the importance of permanent endowments as a means of public-school support was gradually declining. In that year less than 6 per cent of the total revenue for public-school support was derived from such funds; thirty years later this source of school support was less than 3 per cent of the total. Since that time the percentage of public-school support derived from permanent public endowments has shown further decrease. Professor Fletcher Harper Swift, perhaps the most competent authority on the subject, believes that the percentage of total public-school funds derived from permanent funds is much less than the official state and Federal reports indicate. He has pointed out that in a third of the states which every year report revenue for school support from this source, these so-called permanent funds exist totally or largely on paper or as debts of the states to their schools. A part of the permanent school fund of Nevada, of California, and of Wisconsin exists only as a state debt. All the surplus revenue fund of Louisiana and more than half its school fund are recognized as permanent state debts, and practically all the so-called permanent funds in Arkansas, Illinois, Maine, Michigan, Mississippi, New Hampshire, Ohio, and Tennessee are debts of these states to their schools.

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RECEIPTS FOR PUBLIC DAY SCHOOLS FROM
GOVERNMENTAL SOURCES, 1946

STATE	FROM FEDERAL GOVERNMENT	FROM STATE	FROM COUNTY	FROM LOCAL DISTRICT
Continental United States	1.3	34.7	6.1	57.9
Alabama	3.7	67.5	16.3	12.5
Arizona	1.0	46.4	3.5	49.1
Arkansas	3.1	57.0	2.7	37.2
California	1.8	42.3	.9	55.0
Colorado	.5	9.1	13.8	76.6
Connecticut	.5	14.7	—	84.8
Delaware	1.7	87.2	—	11.1
District of Columbia	.3	8.0	—	91.7
Florida	1.9	43.4	31.1	23.6
Georgia	6.3	50.9	21.1	21.7
Idaho	.7	16.6	16.7	66.0
Illinois	.5	15.2	.1	84.2
Indiana	.6	38.3	.6	60.5
Iowa	.7	3.8	.6	94.9
Kansas	.6	6.1	6.7	86.6
Kentucky	4.0	46.1	23.6	26.3
Louisiana	5.9	58.3	30.6	5.2
Maine	1.1	25.4	—	73.5
Maryland	1.1	29.8	33.4	35.7
Massachusetts	.4	12.9	—	86.7
Michigan	1.9	46.8	.6	50.7
Minnesota	.8	33.4	1.3	64.5
Mississippi	2.9	47.0	16.1	34.0
Missouri	.7	38.3	1.7	59.3
Montana	.9	19.5	41.9	37.7
Nebraska	.8	4.8	2.0	92.4
Nevada	3.6	21.1	49.6	25.7
New Hampshire	.8	7.1	—	92.1
New Jersey	.7	15.6	12.0	71.7
New Mexico	.9	86.8	5.3	7.0
New York	.4	34.1	—	65.5
North Carolina	5.5	69.3	17.7	7.5
North Dakota	.6	21.3	6.6	71.5
Ohio	1.2	37.3	—	61.5
Oklahoma	2.5	53.8	2.6	41.1
Oregon	.6	30.1	10.6	58.7
Pennsylvania	.5	30.0	—	69.5
Rhode Island	1.0	8.6	—	90.4
South Carolina	1.2	58.1	9.2	31.5
South Dakota	.9	9.0	1.6	88.5
Tennessee	1.3	36.8	45.8	16.1
Texas	.6	41.2	—	58.2
Utah	2.8	43.7	—	53.5
Vermont	1.2	24.0	—	74.8
Virginia	1.0	44.1	32.8	22.1
Washington	4.5	56.7	3.0	35.8
West Virginia	.7	59.3	40.0	—
Wisconsin	1.1	19.5	5.4	74.0
Wyoming	11.3	24.8	14.0	49.9

Taxation for schools necessary. It was early discovered that the income from so-called permanent funds, land grants, gifts, license fees, and the like was too uncertain as means of support for an adequate school plan. Although direct taxation was unpopular in the early period and continued to be objectionable for a long time, this has seemed to the thoughtful leaders the only sure and safe means by which public schools could be established and maintained. Jefferson had recognized the principle as sound as early as 1779, when he proposed to the legislature of Virginia a bill "for the more general diffusion of knowledge" and endeavored to have it enacted. Other early national leaders had also advocated public support of schools.

Jefferson's view. Jefferson accepted more clearly than any other of these men the principles of free and universal education, and yet he was aware that the parents of some intellectually capable children were "too poor to give them farther education." However, he recognized individual differences. At the common schools to be established throughout the state by his proposed plan "all the free children, male and female," were to receive their schooling free for three years; but to the secondary schools, which were to be established "convenient to the youth in every part of the commonwealth," should go from each of the common schools the boy of "best and most promising genius and disposition," selected "after the most diligent and impartial examination and inquiry . . . without favor or affection" by the superintendent or overseer of the common school, but with an eye to the worthy poor. Boys so selected were to receive schooling and board free in the grammar or secondary schools: those "best in genius and disposition" for four years, those of "the least promising genius and disposition" being eliminated after a year or more in the grammar school, upon the same diligent examination and inquiry as were used to select them "as public foundationers." From

those who were retained through the four years in each secondary school was to be selected in the same manner one "of the best learning and most hopeful genius and disposition" to be educated, boarded, and clothed at public expense for three years at the College of William and Mary. Under this plan the education of girls was not contemplated beyond the common schools. If the element of charity seems to appear in the arrangements for boys beyond these schools, it should be noted that Jefferson sought to recognize and encourage only the capable poor, those of promising "genius and disposition." Virginia did not have his perspective of public education, and delayed for many years the establishment of schools for all. When public taxation for schools appeared, it took permissive form there as in all the states in the early period.

Permissive taxation the first step. Legislation permitting taxation for schools was obtained first, however, in the urban communities, which always learn more readily than the rural sections the value of collective action in education as in other interests. In some states the cities began schools under permissive legislation many years before general state laws on the subject were enacted. This practice appeared in Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Alabama, Maryland, and other states. Typical cases of early state legislation permitting local communities to provide schools by public taxation include the Maryland law in 1816 which allowed the people of Caroline County to vote on the subject; the New Jersey law in 1820 which permitted any county in the state to raise funds by taxation for the education of poor children; the Missouri law in 1824 which allowed districts to levy taxes for schools on petition of two thirds of the voters of the district; the Illinois law in 1825 which provided an optional district-school tax that was rendered ineffective two years later, however, by a provision that a man's property could not be taxed for school

purposes without his written consent ; the Rhode Island law in 1828 which permitted its towns to levy school taxes if they saw the necessity and wisdom of such action. Other permissive state laws for school taxes were enacted in Kentucky in 1830, in Pennsylvania in 1834, in Iowa in 1840, in Virginia in 1829, and in Mississippi in 1846. Legislation permitting counties to levy school taxes was common throughout the country by 1860. This was an important principle of the initial school law of North Carolina in 1839, of Tennessee in 1854, and of Indiana in 1848.

Permissive taxation unpopular. The effort to secure even permissive legislation for school taxation was resisted long and bitterly in every state. This step toward public support of schools, though feeble and halting, was taken in almost every case after long agitation and energetic campaigns in behalf of public education. The enactment of laws providing for school support by public taxation had to wait on the development of sentiment in favor of public schools. Moreover, only the expense of the teacher's salary or wages was at first considered a legitimate charge against the public ; schoolhouses and equipment were not considered proper public burdens. Under the Virginia law of 1829 the inhabitants of the district were required to raise by voluntary contributions three fifths of the amount necessary to erect a schoolhouse. The local authorities could appropriate the remaining two fifths for that purpose out of the usual county appropriation (which came from the income of the permanent public-school fund), provided it did not exceed 10 per cent of that appropriation. In 1825 Ohio permitted the building of schoolhouses in local communities, but required that the sites upon which they were to be built should be donated. Two years later the repairs to buildings were limited by law in that state, and expenditures for repairs within the limit prescribed had to be authorized by a two thirds vote of the people. In 1834 the state required each

parent who sent a child to school to provide his quota of the firewood. Four years later the law of the state permitted the purchase of a site for a schoolhouse and slightly relaxed the requirement concerning the authorization of repairs by a vote of the people. The story of school support in other states is similar.

In some states school desks, blackboards, chalk, window shades, stoves, and other equipment are not regarded as necessary public expenses. In many rural communities some of this equipment is even now furnished by private subscription, by funds raised by parents-teachers' organizations, and by proceeds from school or neighborhood circuses and pie parties. In 1870 the supreme court of North Carolina held that funds for the support of public schools were not necessary expenses, although funds for bridges, courthouses, and jails were necessary. A similar decision was given by the same court fifteen years later and was not reversed until 1907.

Taxation authorized slowly. Lawmaking bodies moved cautiously in authorizing taxes for the support of schools. Although 66 per cent of the counties in Indiana and 56 per cent of the people by a vote in 1848 favored provision for public taxation for schools, the legislature of that state hesitated to enact such a law and did not do so until provision was made that the law should not apply to any county until it had been accepted by a vote of the people. It required three more years before the first general state school tax was levied on all the property of that state for school purposes. Similar struggles appeared in most of the other states during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. By 1860, however, the principle of public support of schools had been generally accepted in all except the slaveholding states, and in some of these (notably North Carolina) it was accepted and partly applied.

Meantime, the steps from permissive public support to mandatory taxation for schools were timidly taken. Local

communities or districts were allowed to levy school taxes at their discretion, but generally only on those who gave their consent; then permission was granted to tax all the property in the district; then assistance was promised by the state, through the income from permanent public-school funds or from the proceeds of a state tax for schools, when local communities or districts met the minimum requirements of the state; finally, district or county taxation became mandatory by state-wide legislation. In quite similar manner are these steps taken today when proposals are made for extensions of public educational effort. In local elections such proposals are frequently defeated. In 1927 the legislature of one state tabled a bill proposing a vote of the people on the question of increasing the minimum legal school term from six months a year to eight months, and in 1928 the people of another state voted down a similar proposal. The arguments preceding the action in each state closely resembled those used in the contest in Pennsylvania in 1835, when the question of public-school support was settled (at least in principle) in that state, and in the fight on the question of free schools in New York fifteen years later.

Charity and the rate bill. The classes of people who opposed education at public expense in the early period differed only slightly from those who now oppose extensions of public educational effort. The arguments used then are the arguments often used now. Free education in the early days meant education only for the poor. Numerous were the charity schools established by benevolent individuals who meant well but who helped to fasten upon free education an odium which it has been difficult to remove; the pauper-school conception, which came directly from England during the colonial period, persisted far into the nineteenth century. As late as 1867 (according to a statement of a member of the board of education of Connecticut at that time) "some able men" in Connecticut declared that

"the state has no right to educate any but paupers. All others should be excluded from the public schools."

In that same year the Hartford Ministerial Association petitioned the legislature of Connecticut concerning the schools, which were suffering from "public neglect," and asked, among other things, "that all taxation for the support of common schools be henceforth on the uniform basis of property, and that the schools be made free." There as elsewhere the fight to remove the rate bill and the element of charity which inhered in it was long and bitter. The rate bill was a charge upon the parents to supplement school revenues for the purpose of paying the salaries of teachers or of lengthening the school term. It was levied upon each parent according to the number of children he sent to school.

"Shall the distinctions of rich and poor be kept up in the schoolroom?" asked the secretary of the state board of education in his report in 1868. "Shall the sons of penury be sent to a poorer seat in the schoolhouse, with the hard and humiliating taunt 'your father does not pay anything for you'?" It was in that year that Connecticut abolished this objectionable feature of school support. Pennsylvania seems to have abolished the rate bill in 1834, Indiana, Ohio, and Illinois in the fifties, Vermont in 1864, and New York in 1867. Rhode Island abolished it in 1868, Michigan in 1869, and New Jersey in 1871. Rates or subscriptions to supplement school revenues were collected in most of the Southern states for many years after the Civil War, when that section of the country was in such economic distress. In time all the states abandoned the practice. In this respect, as in so many others, the cities were more progressive than other communities, and early rid themselves of the rate bills by securing legislative authority to organize, support, and control their own school systems.

Survivals of charity. But the shadow of the rate bill may even now be seen in some of the states. Costs other

than those for teachers' pay were for a long time assessed pro rata among the parents. Survivals of the old element of charity may be seen today in those states which permit the public purchase of schoolbooks and supplies only for the poor, or of shoes and clothing to enable poor children to comply with the requirements of compulsory-attendance laws. Even pensions to widows to enable their children to go to school bear in some places the taint of charity. In some states the child who accepts from the public a warm lunch at school without money and without price must first declare himself in poverty or be so declared, and receive the lunch as a charity which points its scornful finger at his indigence. He must admit the stigma of baser birth. Thus the state by permitting charity in any such form is forced first to degrade those of its members whom it seeks to lift up. It is difficult to see how schools can be considered entirely free so long as any element of charity is allowed to survive in them in any form.

The fight for taxation bitter. In the struggle to make education free are found many examples of courage displayed by the friends of the cause, which was sometimes lost for a time and sometimes won, but won always after bitter fights. It required courage for the president of the University of North Carolina to tell that state in the early thirties (see Chapter VIII) that it was indifferent to its educational needs, that "we correspond in public improvements and in popular education, not with the nineteenth century, but with three centuries ago." It is to the credit of that commonwealth that he was not dismissed from his post. It required courage for Horace Mann in the thirties and forties, and for Caleb Mills in the forties to force the people of Massachusetts and of Indiana to face the facts of their educational and cultural conditions. It required courage for Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia in the fifties to criticize the weaknesses of the school plan of that state,

which was using the proceeds of its permanent public-school fund largely as a charity for the poor, and to urge the abolition of the principle of charity and the organization of an effective educational system including elementary and high schools, teacher-training schools, an agricultural college, and a university. Ignorance of agriculture, he said, had ruined more men in Virginia than "any other cause known to me, except brandy, foxhounds, and horse-racing." About the same time the report of a state educational convention in Richmond pointed out that Virginia's failure to make the schools free involved a moral question, in that the permanent public-school fund, which was the property of all the people, was used to furnish schooling only for the poor.

"Is it right," the report asked, "to take the property of the many and bestow it exclusively on the few? . . . They are the privileged class, the aristocracy of poverty. Now is it right to exclude from all the benefits of the literary fund all the children of this glorious old commonwealth, except those who put in the plea of rags and dirt? . . . Can this injustice and partiality benefit the poor children? Is it a law of humanity, that to lift up, you must first degrade, that to elevate the soul and spirit of a child, you must first make him a public pauper? . . . Has the pauper system of education diminished the number of your intellectual paupers? Or is it, like every other system of legally supported pauperism, a fire that feeds itself?"

The work of Thaddeus Stevens. Probably no more conspicuous example of courage is found in all American educational history, however, than that displayed by Thaddeus Stevens in the legislature of Pennsylvania in 1835. The long agitation for free schools in that state had resulted in the enactment in 1834 of a school law which recognized the principle of public-school support, although the law was optional with the school districts, which then numbered 987. Of this number 502 voted to accept the law, 264 voted

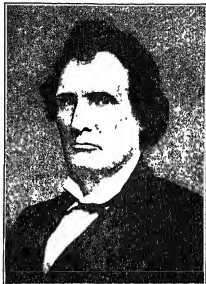
to reject it, and 221 declined to take any action. Many members of the legislature who had supported the law were defeated in the next election; others prevented their defeat by declining to offer themselves for reelection. So strong were the protests against the law and so numerous were the petitions for its repeal that the senate made short work of the matter immediately after it met in 1835 by voting nearly two to one in favor of a bill entitled "An act making provision for the education of the poor gratis," which repealed the essential features of the act of 1834.

His effective speech. Stevens, a member of the House, was absent from Harrisburg much of the time while the contest waged. Many members of the legislature of 1834 had lost their places to pronounced opponents of the act of that year; a committee favoring the law reported that 32,000 people had petitioned for repeal, 2500 had remonstrated against it; the Democratic members of the legislature had held a caucus and requested the Democratic governor, who was friendly to the law of 1834, not to oppose the repeal of the act, and had reminded him that his opposition would defeat him for reelection. When Stevens returned to Harrisburg he was informed by his colleague from Adams County, who was also a warm supporter of the act of 1834, that the senate had passed the repeal with only eight dissenting votes, that a count of votes in the House showed a majority of thirty in favor of the senate's action, and that the friends of the law had consulted and had decided it was useless to oppose its repeal. Stevens was also informed that three fourths of his constituents had petitioned for repeal. But Stevens followed his convictions; and when the fight in the House was at its fiercest he moved to substitute for the senate bill another which greatly strengthened the law of 1834, and upon the motion he made the speech which he himself regarded, even after he had won wide fame in political life, as his greatest single achieve-

ment. Probably few speeches ever uttered in a legislative body in this country produced greater effect. "The House was electrified," wrote a member of the legislature, and the "school system was saved from ignominious defeat." The governor was politically opposed to Stevens, but immediately upon the latter's triumph in the House the executive sent for him, threw his arms about his neck, and thanked him for the service he had "rendered to our common humanity." Enthusiastic friends of the school system which had been saved "had portions of the speech beautifully printed on silk and presented to Stevens."

"Sir," said Stevens, the Vermonter, addressing the speaker of the House, "hereditary distinctions of rank are sufficiently odious; but that which is founded on poverty is infinitely more so. Such

a law should be entitled 'An act for branding and marking the poor, so that they may be known from the rich and proud.' Many complain of this tax, not so much on account of its amount, as because it is for the benefit of others and not themselves. This is a mistake; it is for their own benefit, inasmuch as it perpetuates the Government and insures the due administration of the laws under which they live, and by which their lives and property are protected. Why do they not urge the same objection against all other taxes? The industrious, thrifty, rich farmer



THADDEUS STEVENS

pays a heavy county tax to support criminal courts, build jails, and pay sheriffs and jail keepers, and yet probably he never has, and never will have, any direct personal use of either. He never gets the worth of his money by being tried for a crime before the court, by being allowed the privilege of the jail on conviction, or receiving an equivalent from the sheriff or his hangman officers! He cheerfully pays the tax which is necessary to support and punish convicts, but loudly complains of that which goes to prevent his fellow-being from becoming a criminal, and to obviate the necessity of those humiliating institutions. . . .

"This law is often objected to, because its benefits are shared by the children of the profligate spendthrift equally with those of the most industrious and economical habits. It ought to be remembered that the benefit is bestowed, not upon the erring parents, but the innocent children. Carry out this objection and you punish children for the crimes or misfortunes of their parents. You virtually establish cases and grades founded on no merit of the particular generation, but on the demerits of their ancestors; an aristocracy of the most odious and insolent kind — the aristocracy of wealth and pride. . . .

"It is said that some gentlemen here owe their election to their hostility to general education — that it was placed distinctly on that ground, and that others lost their election by being in favor of it; and that they consented to supersede the regularly nominated candidates of their own party, who had voted for this law. May be so. I believe that two highly respectable members of the last legislature, from Union County, who voted for the school law, did fail of reelection on that ground only. They were summoned before a county meeting, and requested to pledge themselves to vote for its repeal as the price of their reelection. But they were too high minded and honorable men to consent to such degradation. The people, incapable for the moment

of appreciating their worth, dismissed them from their service. But I venture to predict that they have passed them by only for the moment. Those gentlemen have earned the approbation of all good and intelligent men more effectually by their retirement than they could ever have done by retaining popular favor at the expense of self-humiliation. They fell, it is true, in this great struggle between the powers of light and darkness; but they fell, as every Roman mother wished her sons to fall, facing the enemy with all their wounds in front. . . .

"I trust that when we come to act on this question we shall all take lofty ground — look beyond the narrow space which now circumscribes our visions — beyond the passing, fleeting point of time on which we stand; and so cast our votes that the blessing of education shall be conferred on every son of Pennsylvania — shall be carried home to the poorest child of the poorest inhabitant of the meanest hut of your mountains, so that even he may be prepared to act well his part in this land of freemen, and lay on earth a broad and a solid foundation for that enduring knowledge which goes on increasing through increasing eternity."

Lessons from the past. The story of the struggle to secure school support shows many principles which are full of meaning for public educational administration today. It shows that in a democratic community a tuition system for school support is unsound, that it is not necessary to require tuition in order to stimulate and sustain interest in schools, and that taxation for schools is evidence of interest in education rather than a means of promoting interest in it. It shows that a state cannot support its schools by the income from permanent funds, that taxation is the most important means of school support, and that local taxation should be used in part for this purpose because it enables progressive communities to make educational advance more rapidly than would otherwise be possible. This principle is

especially conspicuous in the history of public education in the progressive cities of this country.

The need for increased support. The story of school support also demonstrates the importance of state taxation and the need today for increased support from state sources. Nothing is clearer than that a comprehensive free-school policy does not pauperize the people, although throughout the history of school support it has been freely predicted that this would be the result. This ancient sentiment often reappears today when proposals are made for the extension of the free-school principle to forms of educational effort not now common. If the free-school policy is in full accord with the most vital principles of democracy, all schooling should be free. Furthermore, it is to be noted that, just as low standards of the public schools in the early period were pointed to as excuses for establishing private-tuition schools, so the maintenance of high standards in public schools, the employment only of well-trained teachers, the use of courses of study adapted to modern needs, and the application of the democratic spirit in administration and in instruction will more and more increase public esteem and respect for the free-school policy. It is increasingly clear also that public schools must exemplify the principles of democracy, else the public will distrust them and withdraw support from them. Finally, the history of school support reveals, perhaps more clearly than any other feature of educational history, the importance of enlightened leadership in education. Conspicuous were the services of such men as Mann, Barnard, Pierce, Mills, Murphey, Wiley, and Wise, and of hosts of leaders of more recent times who have worked for the cause of public education.

Present conditions and tendencies. Every state now derives public-school support from local units such as districts, towns, and townships, from the state, and from the Federal government; some states use the county (in the

case of Louisiana the parish) also as a unit of support. School support from local units is generally derived principally from taxes on real and personal property. Support from the state is generally derived from a general mill tax on real and personal property, from permanent public-school funds, from taxes on incomes, inheritances, corporations, stocks and bonds, licenses, certain occupations, and from poll taxes. With the demand for increased revenues for other public enterprises as well as schools, there is an increasing protest against adding to the burden of taxation on land, and the states are more and more seeking new sources of public revenue. The Smith-Lever Act passed by Congress in 1914 provided Federal aid for extension work in agriculture and home economics. Although none of this aid reaches the public schools, it does bring educational benefits to children of school age by encouraging club work among them. Since 1917, when the Smith-Hughes vocational educational law was enacted, the Federal government has been following a new policy in the aid of schools. Every state now receives aid from this source for the teaching of trade and industrial subjects and for the training of teachers in these fields. In 1918 the question arose anew whether the Federal government should not aid the states in general education, and the Smith-Towner bill was introduced in Congress for the purpose of extending such aid. The bill failed of passage, however, and was succeeded by other bills of the same general purpose. Significant was a bill based on the recommendations of the President's Advisory Committee on Education in 1938. Important contributions to educational support are also made by numerous private foundations.

Local taxation. The simple plan of local district taxation served well the needs of the time in which it arose. Although the conditions of that period have now changed, local taxation still remains the chief source of public-school support and is defended by arguments similar to those used

in the defense of this form of taxation in its beginning. Increased educational burdens are assumed and borne largely by this means. Approximately three fourths of the states receive less than one third of their public educational revenues from state sources, and only two or three derive more than half their school funds from such sources. The results of continued dependence on local school support are seen in economic and educational inequalities which are found in practically all the forty-eight states. These inequalities seem all the more strange in the face of increasing insistence — often implied in constitutional provisions for schools, hinted at in decisions of the courts, written on and spoken about by peripatetic professors at large, expressed even by legislation and often by reforms in educational organization — that the public schools are not local but state institutions and, as such, can be controlled by the state.

Increasing cost. The cost of public education increased more than 440 per cent between 1890 and 1918, and if a longer period be considered, the increased cost is even more conspicuous. This increase has been due to the increase in the educable population, to the lengthening of the legal school term, to the enactment and improvement of school-attendance legislation, to the shifting upon the school of functions once performed by the home and the community, to the enlargement of educational facilities, to the improvement in educational standards, and, in recent years, to the change in the purchasing power of the dollar. In spite of this rapid increase the demand for wider and richer educational opportunities has been even more rapid, and in spite of the vast enlargement of public educational facilities in recent years, reports come from almost every state that thousands of its youth are not provided with educational opportunities adequate for their needs.

Localism and inequalities. After more than a century of laborious effort these opportunities are not yet fully

democratic or entirely free, nor are they universal. Few are the states which do not consider taxation their most stubborn educational problem, and fewer still are those which have sensible and equitable plans of taxation. And yet there is probably no state which cannot provide universal, democratic, free, and adequate educational facilities for all its members if it would formulate and follow a scientific and sound taxation system. The glaring educational inequalities in almost every state today are due for the most part to the inequities and iniquities of taxation makeshifts. Few problems of statecraft so quickly transform statesmen into pettifoggers (as the history of school taxation shows) as the problems that inhere in this ancient dread. It remains after many years one of the most puzzling of all the problems of educational administration. Failure of governing authority to grapple intelligently with it has made for much educational muddle-mindedness and public injustice, often for court delays and nebulous court decisions, for bitterness and bickerings, and, not infrequently, for grotesque expedients which result in wide differences between the theory of public support and actual practices. These differences may be found in most of the states. Most curious is the case of North Carolina, where the entire school budget of each county may annually be, and not infrequently is, adopted and approved not by the county school authorities, who are charged with the responsibility of maintaining the schools and who know their needs, but by a judge and a jury of twelve good men and true. This is an example of localism gone to seed. The educational inequalities now existing there and in every state, largely because of dependence of the schools on local revenues, are as glaring now as at any time in the nation's history. So long as this practice continues these inequalities must remain. Devotion to the ancient fetish of localism in education has made, and continues to make, such conditions inevitable in the richest nation in the world.

Ability to provide schools. It appears that the American people are able to do more for education than they have done. The people of this country annually spend on luxuries, for example, a great deal more than on public education. Stuart Chase, in his chapter in "Whither Mankind,"¹ noted that the American people, for good or for ill, spend for play sums far more staggering than are spent for education. He estimated that forms of play impossible without machinery run to more than \$10,000,000,000 a year, and that forms of play conceivable without machinery run to nearly \$21,000,000,000 annually: ten million people annually pay \$50,000,000 to see football games and about the same number pay \$15,000,000 to witness prize fights. It does sometimes seem strange that a people so lavish on such indulgences now and then plead poverty when increased funds are needed for schools and cry out against the mounting costs of education. Strange also are these evidences of prosperity among a people who permit such iniquitous educational conditions — multitudes of their children in "dismal and insanitary hovels" called schoolhouses, in charge of "wretchedly underpaid and proportionately ignorant, untrained, and negative teachers."

Objection to and fear of taxation stood long and stubbornly in the way of the principle of public support of schools. Before taxation for education was authorized many methods of school support were used. The element of charity and the rate bill were difficult to remove. Although state taxation for schools is of utmost importance, local taxation remains the chief source of public-school support in most of the states, and notwithstanding the immense wealth of the American people the principle of complete public-school support has not yet been fully and practically applied in every community.

¹ Charles A. Beard (Editor), "Whither Mankind" (Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1929), pp. 332-353.

There are still many inequalities in educational opportunities in the United States. The battle continues to be waged over the principle when extensions of public educational support are proposed, just as it continues to be waged over the extensions of public educational control, the subject of the next chapter.

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Contains much valuable material that throws light on some questions raised in this chapter, recommends Federal aid for education.

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QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Account for the fact that public taxation for school purposes was so long resisted in this country.

2. Make a study of the development of taxation for schools in your state, with the constitutional and legal provisions as sources of information.

3. Contrast the views of Franklin and Smith (pp. 244-245) on the subject of taxation with Melver's view.

4. In what way was it unfortunate for the cause of public schools that the beginnings of education in this country were made and nurtured by philanthropy? Consider the place of philanthropy in education in this country now

5. Point out any present-day survivals of the theory that rewards other than economic made up for the poor pay which teachers have received and even now receive for their services

6. Trace the development of any permanent public-school endowment established by your state. For what purposes is such a fund now used in your state?

7. Account for the fact that permanent public-school funds were often mismanaged.

8. Trace the uses made by your state of its share in the surplus revenue of 1837.

9. Make a study of the use of lotteries for educational or other purposes in your state. Why were lotteries finally prohibited?

10. Why were the lawmaking bodies so cautious in authorizing taxes for school support?

11. What is the significance of the speech made by Thaddeus Stevens in the legislature of Pennsylvania?

12. What effect did the costs of national defense provided for by the Congress in 1940 and 1941 have on expenditures for education in the United States?

13. What lessons for public educational administration may be learned from the long struggle to secure school support?

14. Study and report on Chapter IX of *The Forty-Eight State School Systems* listed above

15. Discuss the educational inequalities in your state which arise from localism in public-school support.

16. Make a list of the arguments for national aid to education given in the report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education.

CHAPTER X

SECURING PUBLIC CONTROL

Outline of the chapter. 1. Each of the American states has established at one time or another some form of central administrative control of schools in order to achieve the essential educational purpose of the state, which is to protect, instruct, and train all its people.

2. The development of state control and direction of public education has been somewhat haphazard, with the result that uniformity in state school administration is unknown in the United States.

3 The beginnings of state control of education were made when the state began to give financial aid to local schools. New York was the first state to create (1812) an office to exercise central educational supervision, and Gideon Hawley was the first state superintendent of schools.

4. Maryland followed the lead of New York in 1826, and later many other states established the office. By 1850 thirty-one states and three territories had provided for it. Today the office is permanently established in each of the forty-eight states.

5. In length of term, salary, title of the office, legal qualifications and duties of the officer, and method of selection, the state superintendency of schools shows much variety. About three fourths of the states use the political method of popular election, which authorities on public-school administration do not look upon as sound.

6. The duties of the chief state school officer are larger and more specific now than they were during the early development of state control.

7. The state board of education is an important feature of American state school control. There are several different kinds of state boards of education, the least effective of them being the ex-officio board.

8. Professional county and city superintendencies developed slowly because of the old district system and the strength of localism, but in recent years city school administration has developed rapidly.

The essential educational purpose of the modern democratic state is to formulate and follow intelligent and progressive plans for the protection, the instruction, and the training of all its people. The state should be more than an educational tax-collector or tax-distributor or lawmaker

or policeman: it should be an active and energetic social agency constantly employing its resources for the physical, moral, intellectual, social, and industrial betterment of all its members without regard to their economic or social status or any other accidental conditions or circumstances. It should undertake to safeguard the rights of all in all legitimate activities and to use its agencies for the improvement of all the people and the enlargement of their opportunities for personal and social development. Such a purpose as this, however, involves a great many more activities of an educational nature than those of establishing, supporting, and directing schools, though the educational purpose may best be seen in the arrangement which the state makes for schools.

Central state control of education. To achieve this educational purpose the American states have established at one time or another some form of central administrative control of schools. Steps toward such control were first taken in the early part of the nineteenth century, when provision was made for a state board of education and a chief state school officer. The general growth of these features of public educational administration has appeared in more recent years, however, and is clearly in process of further development even now. Today some form of state board of education and the office of state superintendent, or commissioner of schools, are established in each of the forty-eight states; but there is much variety in the provisions made for this important office, in the names by which it is officially designated, in the qualifications required of those who occupy it, in the methods of selecting them, in their tenure, in the compensation they receive, and in the scope of their jurisdiction and the kind and extent of their powers. Uniformity in state school administration is unknown in the United States.

Haphazard development. This absence of uniformity in central state control and direction of public education in this

country has been due to its haphazard development. This has been in large part a result of rather definite influences. One of these was the theory of individual and local community rights, which so long prevailed because it met with such wide popular approval. This theory was in close harmony with the democratic theory of government, which included local self-government by small units, where interests were narrow and provincial. Moreover, it was natural that the people should remember the troubles with England and the war which they waged for independence. They learned to distrust centralization of power in any form or for any purpose, because it denoted autocracy and tyranny, which they taught themselves and their children to despise and resist.

A state obligation. Another influence caused slow and haphazard development of state educational control. The Constitution of the United States, by implication in the Tenth Amendment, had delegated the obligation of education to the various states; but this obligation was not directly placed upon the states, and they moved slowly to assume it. The public utterances of the leading statesmen of the early national period and the messages of governors (who urged often in very general and sometimes pious terms that legislatures provide for schools) did not move the states promptly to set up the means of education at public expense. Even Jefferson's significant bill in the legislature of Virginia in 1779 "for the more general diffusion of knowledge" failed to pass that body or to influence public opinion widely in that state. Then and for many years afterwards education was viewed in all parts of the United States not as a duty and function of government but as a church, a parental, or a family obligation. In the early national period it was not even accepted as a function of small local units of government, not to mention the central state government. The states were not required to make provision for it. As early

as May, 1776, the Continental Congress had recommended to the various states the adoption of "such government as shall, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular and America in general." Following this recommendation, all the states except Connecticut and Rhode Island (which regarded their colonial charters as adequate to the changed conditions) framed and adopted constitutions. But not all of them, as noted in Chapter VI, made constitutional provision for schools, and in many of the states which did so the lawmaking bodies did not immediately or strictly observe the mandates. The states did not provide for public education until the people themselves began to feel and make vocal the need for schools and until they also developed a willingness, which at first appeared quite half-hearted, to pay for them.

Other influences. Another influence which delayed the growth of centralization in education and made for decentralization was the long traditional and historical association of schools with the church or other religious and philanthropic organizations or with other forms of private educational effort. Elementary schools were established primarily for religious purposes. It was natural, therefore, that the idea of public control of education should be slow to appear and develop in a community not accustomed to public support of schools. Devotion to the democratic doctrine of localism, the influence of the theory that the support or the control of education was not properly a function of government, and the silence of the Federal Constitution on the subject of schools made for decentralization in educational work and delayed the beginnings of state control of local schools.

Moreover, there was no American model for the office of state superintendent of schools, nor were serious suggestions for such an office made during the early national period.

City and county superintendencies were not known until the creation of the state superintendency, and the office of the United States Commissioner of Education was not established until after the Civil War. The chief state school office could not come into being until the need appeared for oversight of state funds for schools.

Beginnings of state control. The initial step in the movement to secure such oversight was taken when the state began to give financial aid to local schools. Funds were the whip hand, then as now, in compelling local communities to submit to state supervision. It was this force that guided or drove communities along the slow and toilsome road from excessive faith in localism and false standards in education to toleration for centralization in the state department of education. It was this same force that directed public opinion to the view, now generally accepted in the United States, that education is a function for the state to perform and that schools and other means of instruction and training should be maintained and directed under its supervision. This has come to be a fundamental principle of education in a democracy. The principle began to take form when the state first offered to give aid to local schools on condition that they conform to certain state requirements. This arrangement between the state and smaller administrative units marks also the origin of local distrust and resentment and often of open hostility to the power of central state control.

The need for funds. After the need for schools came to be generally recognized but before there had developed a willingness to pay for them by public taxation, the most perplexing educational problem in this country was to secure funds for their support. As noted in Chapter IX, permanent public-school funds or endowments seemed to be the solution. It was believed that such funds would make the schools free and available to all and, what was an even

more attractive promise, relieve the people of direct taxation for education. Arrangements for indirect school support were likely to be popular at a time when schools were not generally considered an obligation of the state and when taxes were not looked upon with high favor even for the pressing necessities of government, such as the administration of justice, poor relief, the maintenance of jails, court-houses, and defense. Schools were not considered necessary expenses of government.

Permanent public-school funds disappointing. The inability of a permanent public-school fund to provide educational facilities without taxation or other means of support was promptly demonstrated in the case of Connecticut, which established such a fund in 1795. The experiment was costly and disappointing, and the result probably retarded education for many years and increased the necessity for rate bills, which were not eliminated in Connecticut until 1868. New York was able to profit by the mistake of Connecticut and to view the fund established in 1805 as a means not of relieving the people of local school burdens, but of encouraging local taxation for education. This principle of state aid for those communities which would help themselves has come to be accepted throughout the country as sound and stimulating.

New York in the lead. New York was the first state to create an office to exercise central educational supervision. As early as 1784 the legislature established the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York for the purpose of creating, endowing, and controlling secondary and higher education. Specific needs for some degree of control in elementary education appeared in that state when it became necessary to distribute safely to local community schools the income from the permanent school endowment established in 1805. Between 1795 and 1800, under experimental school legislation, annual state grants

had been made for schools. The funds were distributed to such localities as raised by taxation half the amounts given by the state. The absence of general direction by some central authority and the lack of cohesive power in the plan led to its failure. There was waste of money intended for educational purposes. The schools failed to command respect, because they exerted no influence, and in 1800 the legislature refused to renew the appropriation. The plan collapsed and was not revived until 1812.

State supervision of state funds. By 1812 it had become evident that whatever aid the state gives to schools must be supervised in some manner by the state to prevent a waste of funds and moral injury to the communities which had shown tendencies to escape their educational responsibilities. Central supervision in some form was necessary, and it was believed that this could best be exercised by some officer who represented the state. This officer could also collect such information as the legislature, in view of the slowly increasing recognition of the place of the state in providing education, was beginning to require. A knowledge of conditions among the people of the state and of their educational desires was necessary if intelligent and progressive school laws were to be enacted. This officer could furnish such knowledge (in part at least), and he could also stimulate educational interest among the people. To control the funds, to gather information, and to encourage educational interest were the purposes of the first state superintendency in the United States, but the greatest of these probably was to control the funds.

A new office in the United States. The office was a new one for this country. It was native in origin and was apparently influenced little, if at all, by practices in other countries. The statute enacted by the New York legislature of 1812 designated the officer as "the superintendent of common schools," who was to be appointed by the "council

of appointment," which consisted of four senators, one from each district, to be chosen by the legislature. His salary was to be \$300 a year, but he was "not to be under pay until he shall give notice of the first distribution of school money." His duty was to digest and prepare plans for the improvement and management of the common-school fund and for the better organization of the common schools, to prepare and report estimates and expenditures of the school moneys and to superintend the collection thereof, to direct the sale of the public lands which had been or would be appropriated as a permanent public-school fund, to prepare and provide the legislature with information concerning education, and to "perform all such services relative to the welfare of the schools as he shall be directed to perform." As evidence of good faith he was required to take an oath or affirmation to execute his trust diligently and faithfully.

The act of 1812. The act of 1812 followed a report of a legislative committee on a system for the "organization and establishment of common schools," and is one of the important educational documents in the history of New York. The committee evidently had given some rather careful study to the plans followed in other countries. In addition to the recognition of the principle of state control and provision for school-district organization, the act contains other interesting educational principles. It established the principle that all teachers should possess moral character and certain scholastic qualifications which were to be determined by local school officers. The principle of permissive taxation in local communities was established for the purpose of providing a schoolhouse (including site) and for furnishing and repairing the building. Local school officers were authorized to employ teachers and fix their compensation. The act accepted in part the principle that public education is a function of the state and should be provided

and maintained under state supervision, and that to meet the state's educational obligation a system of publicly supported schools should be established and local officers should execute the educational policy of the state. The act also reflects the principle that state supervision naturally follows state support of education.

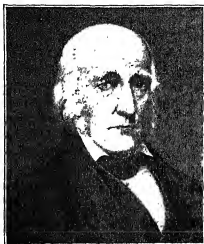
The first state superintendent of schools. Gideon Hawley was the first appointee to the office, in January, 1813. His vigorous activity in behalf of public schools later offended the politicians, however, whose behavior resembled that of offended politicians today. In 1821 they removed Hawley. They also abolished the position, designating the secretary of state to act *ex officio* as superintendent of the common schools, and this continued to be the status of the office in New York until 1854. In that year the office was re-created as a separate one, this time, however, under the official designation "superintendent of public instruction," a title which by that time had become more or less general in the United States. In 1904 the title was again changed to "commissioner of education," and this is today the official designation of the chief state school officer in New York.

The office in other states. The next state to establish the office of superintendent, or commissioner of education, acted fourteen years after New York had taken the initial step in 1812. Maryland created the office in 1826. Provision was made by legislation enacted in that year that a superintendent of public instruction was to be appointed by the governor and council. The language of the law was in many parts identical with that of the New York statute of 1812, and the duties of the Maryland officer were similar to those prescribed by New York. No term or salary was prescribed by the Maryland law, however, though two years later the legislature granted Littleton Dennis Teackle the sum of \$500 "in full compensation for his services and expenditures as superintendent of public instruction." It

seems that the office was abolished in 1828 and was not reestablished until 1864, when the new constitution provided for a state superintendent of public instruction. The office was continued only four years, however, when it was again abolished and its duties transferred to the principal of the state normal school. It was reestablished in 1902 as a separate office under the designation "superintendent of education," which is the present title.

Michigan was the third state and the first of the Western states to establish the office. An act of 1829 of the Territory of Michigan provided for a superintendent of common schools. That state holds the record of having had the office as a separate and continuous one longer than any of the other states. It was also the first state to make constitutional provision (1835) for the office. The title "superintendent of public instruction," prescribed in that year, has continued until the present.

Louisiana provided in 1833 that the secretary of state should serve ex officio as superintendent of public education, and this arrangement continued until 1847, when the office was created as a separate one. Pennsylvania specified in 1834 that the secretary of the commonwealth should serve ex officio as chief state school officer. The separate office was not established in that state until 1857.



GIDEON HAWLEY

The first state superintendent of schools in the United States (From a painting owned by the New York State Education Department.)

Tennessee provided in 1836 for a state superintendent of public instruction to be elected for a term of two years by a joint vote of the two Houses of the legislature. Robert H. McEwen was selected for the position, but the law gave him no authority to enforce the educational legislation of the state or to stimulate educational interest. He was to serve merely as financial agent, or treasurer, of the permanent public-school fund, which had been established earlier. The legislature of 1837-1838 reelected him, but became somewhat suspicious of his management of the fund and ordered him to make a report. This led to a legislative investigation. A majority of the investigating committee reported that by mismanagement and a variety of questionable schemes the superintendent had robbed the fund of more than \$121,000. Suit was instituted against him and his securities when his term expired in 1840, but the litigation, which dragged over ten years and wore the color of politics, was finally compromised, the defendants paying about \$10,000 in full settlement of all claims. Andrew Johnson was chairman of the committee from the House. A minority report charged that the investigation was based upon "private malice and political prejudice spurred into activity . . . by hungry expectants and party hangers-on." McEwen's defalcation gave public education a decided setback in Tennessee, and the poorly organized school system of the state was little more than a name until 1854.

The office in Tennessee was held by two other men between 1840 and 1844, when, under a wave of economy and retrenchment, it was abolished and the duties transferred to the office of the state treasurer. It was not reestablished as a separate office until 1867. This arrangement continued until 1870, and for three years thereafter the treasurer of the state again acted *ex officio* as superintendent of public instruction, under which title the office has been a continuous and separate one since 1873.

Ohio provided in 1837 for the annual election, by the two Houses of the legislature, of a superintendent of common schools. Three years later the duties of this office were transferred to the office of the secretary of state, who acted *ex officio* until 1853. The office was again made a separate one under the title "commissioner of common schools." In 1913 the official designation of the chief state school officer of Ohio was changed to "superintendent of public instruction."

Massachusetts provided in 1837 for a state board of education, to be appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the council of state. This board was authorized to appoint a secretary. The office in that state continued under the title "secretary of the state board of education" until 1909, when it was changed to "commissioner of education." Horace Mann was the first to hold the office in Massachusetts, and through it he rendered wide and conspicuous service to the cause of education in this country.

Kentucky established the office of superintendent of public instruction in 1838, and since that date it has continued as a separate office under the same title. Connecticut provided for the office in the same year under a law similar to the Massachusetts law of 1837. This arrangement continued until 1842, when the act of 1838 was repealed, and there was no further state supervision in Connecticut until 1845. From 1845 to 1849 the commissioner of the school funds acted *ex officio* as superintendent of common schools, and from the latter date to 1865 the principal of the state normal school served *ex officio* as superintendent of common schools. From 1865 to 1921 the office was a separate one under the title "secretary of the state board of education"; since 1921 the title has been "commissioner of education."

Now a separate office in all states. Gradually the other states created the office. By 1850 thirty-one states and three territories had provided for it. Twenty-five years later

there were thirty-seven states in the Union, and all these and ten territories had established the office. Oldahoma, which was a territory until 1907, created the office in 1890. Thirty-five of the states originally created the office as a separate one, and thirteen provided that its duties should be performed by some other state officer, often the secretary of state. The office often had to struggle for recognition and for life. Frequent attempts were made to abolish it. Of the thirty-five states which in establishing the office made it a separate one, seventeen later abolished it or transferred its duties to some other state officer. Only nine of the twenty-four states and territories which by 1850 had established the office have kept it separate and continuous since that date. By 1875, however, the office had become generally accepted, and today it is permanently established in each of the forty-eight states. Since 1913, when Delaware reëstablished it, the office has been a separate and continuous one in all the states.

Terms and salaries. The term of the chief state school officer varies from one year to six years, but the four-year term is found in twenty-four states, and the two-year term in fourteen. Generally the term is fixed by constitution or by statute. The tendency today is toward a longer term than formerly. It is believed that a long and fixed term has the advantage of protection from political interference. During such a term a superintendent of strength and professional fitness has the opportunity of formulating and executing constructive educational policies. On the other hand, it is difficult to remove a weak and professionally unfit superintendent before the expiration of his term. The absence of legal means to dispose of such an official might become a real obstacle to educational progress. In New York, New Hampshire, and Vermont the chief state school officer serves during the pleasure of the state board of education, which regularly appoints him for an indefinite term.

The salary of the chief state school officer is a measure of the state's conception of the importance of the office and, perhaps, a measure also of the strength and leadership of those who occupy the office. Low salaries were generally the rule in the early history of the state superintendency, and this rule prevailed until comparatively recent years. In 1896, for example, the largest salary paid to this office was \$5000 in New York. Massachusetts paid \$4500; Michigan, only \$1000. The average salary paid in that year to the chief state school officers of the United States was less than \$2500. In 1909 the average salary had been increased to about \$2700, with many of the states paying, however, only about \$2000. In some states the salary of the chief state school officer is still small.

Although the chief state school officer is the nominal head of the state school system, in many states his salary is less than that of many other educational workers. Presidents of state universities and colleges and of state normal schools often receive larger salaries than the superintendent, or commissioner of education, and nearly all the states have one or more city superintendents whose salaries are greater. Moreover, it was recently pointed out that in some states the salary of this official is less than that paid to school principals and to teachers in elementary and high schools. It is significant that the lowest salaries paid to the chief state school officer are generally found in those states where he is elected by popular vote, and the highest in those states where he is appointed. In the states where he is elected the average salary is a little more than half that which is paid to him in states where the method of selection is by appointment.

Many titles to the office. It is perhaps significant that nearly a score of titles have been used to designate the chief state school officer in the United States since the office was first established more than a century ago. In the

early days there was indifference toward the value of the office; later enlarged public conceptions of its importance developed. Today the office is designated by about half a dozen titles. The West and the South seem to prefer "superintendent of public instruction"; "commissioner of education" is widely used in the North and the East, and in recent years the tendency has been to adopt this title whenever changes are made. Massachusetts adopted it in 1909, New Jersey in 1911, Vermont in 1915, New Hampshire and Minnesota in 1919, Rhode Island in 1920, Connecticut in 1921, and Maine and Tennessee in 1923. Some of the states make constitutional provisions for the office, and some provide for it by statutes.

Legal qualifications. Seventeen of the states prescribe no qualifications whatever for those who hold the office of state superintendent, or commissioner of education. In such states the office is open (in theory, at any rate) to any respectable citizen irrespective of educational qualifications. Some of the states specify such requirements as to age and residence as would generally have to be met by state officers who are elected by popular vote. Rather general educational qualifications are required in some of the states, such as graduation from a standard college or experience in teaching and school administration. In most of the states the office has been held by men. Recently, however, it has been held by women, especially in some of the Western states where interest in woman suffrage appeared early and perhaps received its greatest support. In no Eastern or South-eastern state has a woman served as the chief state school officer.

Duties of the state superintendent. During the early history of the chief state school officer his duties were not numerous. For the most part they were statistical, clerical, exhortatory, and advisory. He was expected to look after the state school funds and see that they were properly

apportioned to those local communities which met the requirements for state aid, to make statistical reports to the legislature or the state board of education, and to visit various parts of the state and, by public speeches or conferences with the people, encourage interest in schools. Today, however, his duties are numerous and his powers are generally broad. In the selection of textbooks; in the organization of courses of study; in the formulation of policies of public-school finance, of the training and certification of teachers, and of accrediting high schools and colleges; in the initiation of school legislation and even in the interpretation of school laws; in the determination of standards for school buildings, child-welfare work, school-library extensions, and adult and vocational education,—in these and a host of other matters vital in a modern school system he may, and often does, have large powers and influence. The increased duties of this office indicate the change from localism to centralization in public education.

This change indicates also the enlarged conception of the importance of public education, and the emphasis which more and more is being placed on public educational leadership and expert direction. Theoretically, an improved type of intelligent and professional direction is required as much in public education as in modern highway engineering, health and sanitation work, agriculture, and other activities of modern state governments. The state superintendent, or commissioner of schools, must be a professional leader. The need is no longer for a clerk, a politician, or a professor and lecturer at large. The public educational needs of a modern state require that the chief school officer be equipped with a high order of business and executive ability, professional consciousness, a keen sense of public educational duty, generous scholarship, a broad vision of the social needs of the state he is serving, apostolic fervor and unselfishness, and even a quiet willingness to be forgotten. No other state

officer occupies so important and strategic a place for moral and social leadership as the superintendent of public schools.

Methods of selection. The best theories of the importance of the chief state school officer, however, are not practically applied. This fact is revealed especially in the method most commonly used for selecting him. Since the creation of the office in New York in 1812 at least half a dozen methods of filling it have been used. Today three methods are in common use: appointment by the governor, appointment by the state board of education, and election by popular vote. Although the method recognized as best by authorities on public-school administration is that of appointment by a properly constituted board of educational control, about three fourths of the states use the political method of popular election, which is prescribed by the constitution of those states or by their statutes.

Viewed in the light of the best educational experience and the soundest principle of educational administration, this method of selecting the chief state school officer limits his effectiveness and influence. Election by this method is generally on the basis of partisan nomination, and hence it binds the officer to party pledges and often identifies him with active party politics. His duties require such training and fitness and professional qualities as are rarely at home with those qualities which generally commend men to the political leaders and bosses. Moreover, election by popular vote limits the choice to citizens of the state. This method has been discarded as vicious in the selection of all the newer experts. Chairmen of highway commissions, highway engineers, and heads of state boards of health are not chosen by popular vote. No city would select its superintendent of schools by such means. No state would select the president of its university or the head of one of its colleges by popular vote. The argument that many states still select their chief state school officers by this method is not sound;

neither is the argument that the method keeps the schools close to the people sound. The important thing is to keep the people close to the schools, which is a very different matter.

Enlarged powers of control. The initial statute creating the first state superintendency in the United States prescribed the duties of that office. The superintendent was required "to digest and prepare plans for the improvement and management of the common-school fund, and for the better organization of common schools; to prepare and report estimates and expenditures of the school monies, to superintend the collection thereof, to execute such services relative to the sale of the lands, which now are or hereafter may be appropriated, as a permanent fund for the support of common schools, as may be by law required of him; to give information to the legislature respecting all matters referred to him by either branch thereof, or which shall appertain to his office: and generally to perform all such services relative to the welfare of schools, as he shall be directed to perform, and shall, prior to his entering upon the duties of his office, take an oath or affirmation for the diligent and faithful execution of his trust."

An important court decision. These general and somewhat vague duties stand out in rather sharp contrast to those found in the legislation covering the duties of the state superintendent in New York and perhaps other American states today. The absence of specific powers is in even greater contrast to the large and definite powers with which the office is now clothed in many states. This increase in centralized authority in education represents the gradual change from localism and other extreme educational applications of democracy to centralization. The following example serves to illustrate this:

Judge Chester B. McLaughlin of the Court of Appeals of New York State, in an opinion handed down in July, 1926,

held that State Commissioner of Education Frank P. Graves was within his official rights when he directed the board of education of Union School District Number Two, Town of Brookhaven, Suffolk County, to raise by tax sufficient funds to provide for the transportation of children of school age who lived so far from the school that they could not otherwise attend. The order of Commissioner Graves was given in March, 1924, after he had made an investigation of parents, but instead of obeying the order the local school board referred the case to the people of the school district, who voted against the tax.

The opinion of Judge McLaughlin is significant in the educational history not only of New York State but of the United States, in that it shows both the increased powers of the chief state school officer and the increased public respect for the educational interests and rights of children. The opinion noted that the law permitted the formation of small schools into a larger district, called a "union free-school district," and that when such a district was formed, its board of education was given sufficient power to provide equal educational advantages for all the children of the district. If the board should neglect to make such provision or should neglect or refuse "to carry out the object for which the district has been formed," the chief state school officer has by the school law of the state sufficient authority to compel action. The decision is an illustration of localism yielding to centralization; of alleged local rights surrendering to central power, not in the interest of tyranny and despotism, however, but in behalf of the rights of the children and in the interest of general public welfare. It is an illustration also of the changed conception of the democratic state, whose preëminent concern should be for the protection and improvement of all its citizens.

The state board of education. Closely connected with the chief state school officer is the state board of education,

now found in all the states. The board first appeared in New York in 1784. It has continued to the present and, with the office of commissioner of education of New York, represents perhaps the largest state educational control to be found in any American state. In the same year Georgia chartered the first American state university; and a year later it passed an act under which all forms of public education in the state were to become a part of the university, whose *Senatus Academicus* was to act in an advisory capacity toward all schools established or supported by public funds. This plan of state educational control, remarkable for its centralization, was impracticable, however, and proved to be a failure. In 1817 the territory of Michigan created a university which was to have control over all the public schools to be established within the state, but this part of its purpose was never realized.

In the boards created to manage the "literary funds" or permanent public-school endowments may also be seen the genesis of state boards of education. The funds set up in Virginia in 1810 and in North Carolina in 1825 are examples. The beginnings of a state board of control appear also in legislative committees to whom reports of school funds were regularly made. However, it was in 1837, in Massachusetts, that the first real state board of education, with a secretary or a state superintendent of schools, was established. Connecticut created a state board of commissioners for common schools and provided for a secretary in 1839. Kentucky, Arkansas, Ohio, Indiana, and North Carolina provided for some central state control through a board of education or superintendent of schools by 1852. Since that date some form of state board has been established in all the states as enlightened public sentiment for the proper direction of schools increased.

Types of boards. There are four different kinds of state boards of education in the United States at the present

time: (1) the board whose members are all appointed, (2) the board whose appointed members predominate, (3) the board whose members are all ex officio, and (4) the board whose ex-officio members predominate.

The ex-officio state board of education, whose members are generally state officers, is regarded by authorities in school administration as unsafe and as the most rudimentary of all. Generally the powers of such a board are not clearly defined. Moreover, the members are generally elected for other purposes than those of educational supervision and direction, which should be the primary purpose of a real state board of education. They are generally elected upon a party platform, and are therefore committed to party programs and are subject to the fortunes and misfortunes of party politics. In the interest of the harmony of the party they must jealously guard its every policy, whether it promotes education or not. The unstable character of such a board also counts heavily against it. To secure continuity of policy the membership of a state board of education should be subject only to gradual changes. In the ex-officio board the danger is always present that the membership may change completely and suddenly at the end of a political administration.

The type of state educational control now generally approved by authorities in public-school administration consists of a small number of representative citizens appointed by the governor for long terms. The principal functions of the board should be legislative and supervisory, and the actual direction of the schools should be in the hands of the executive officer of the board; namely, the superintendent, or commissioner of education. The selection of this officer is one of the most important duties of the board.

The properly constituted state board of education is able to systematize and supervise all the public educational forces of the state. This makes for economy and the elimination

of waste, which is inevitable when there is division of responsibility. Such a board also makes for orderly progress, a process so necessary in the conduct of a state school system, with its tens of thousands of teachers, its multitudes of children to be instructed, and the immense expenditures that must come from public taxation. Public education is today one of the big interests of the American people, and it demands a high order of competent counsel and executive direction. The state board of education should correspond somewhat closely to the board of directors in a business organization. Just as system increases the effectiveness of an industrial corporation, so does it increase the effectiveness of public schools.

The history of public education in the United States shows that movements in the direction of a general and uniform public-school organization often meet with opposition from local communities. They have resisted centralization of power. But the objection to competent state oversight of local educational effort often arises from a misunderstanding of the true nature of education and of the relation of schools to the general well-being of the commonwealth. State boards of education whose duties are properly and clearly defined make for educational progress. This is particularly true when such boards decline to become political bodies with selfish or partisan ends to serve and when the general welfare of the state becomes and remains their preëminent concern. Such boards are able to respond to new conditions and needs as they arise, to devise wise educational policies, and to protect the schools from indifferent or hostile legislation.

The increasing importance of state boards of education will become more thoroughly appreciated as public opinion becomes more and more enlightened. Numerous surveys of state school systems in recent years point to the same conclusion. Most of them have been made by organizations

of national prominence, such as the Carnegie Foundation, the General Education Board, and the United States Bureau of Education. The general tendency of the states to accept the recommendations of the survey commissions and remove the administrative handicaps of the state boards of education is one of the hopeful signs in American education.

Local supervision and control. Professional county and city superintendencies were also slow to develop. As education came to be considered a function of the state, however, the need arose for some form of control in administrative units below the state to oversee state funds or school lands in the counties or other units, to supervise local school officers and teachers, and to enforce the general school law of the state. The county school officer, known as county superintendent of schools or county superintendent of education or county superintendent of public instruction or county superintendent of common schools, slowly evolved through constitutional provision or the general school law of the state. Often he served in ex-officio capacity, just as did the state superintendents. Sometimes the office developed out of the chairmanship or presidency of the county board of education or other county offices. The early duties of the chief county school officer were generally clerical and fiscal, although he often had authority to visit the schools and sometimes he was expected to examine and certificate teachers. Beginning in the fourth and fifth decades of the nineteenth century, the county superintendency was established in ten or a dozen states by the time of the Civil War, and a few years later it was provided in most of the states. Election by popular vote early came to be the favorite means of selection; and this practice (still followed by many of the states) helps to prevent the requirement of professional fitness of county superintendents of schools, which remains one of the weak spots in public educational administration in many of the states. Educational progress

has been considerably slower in county and rural sections than in the cities, which now generally demand professionally trained superintendents for their schools.

But this demand was not made very early even by the cities, because of the district system and the strength of localism which so long prevailed in them. Before the Civil War professional superintendents were very few, one may almost say practically unknown. For example, in 1832 Buffalo, New York, had several small school districts, each having a schoolhouse and one teacher. Five years later, when the legislature of the state incorporated the city and provided for an appointment of the superintendent of common schools, who was to "possess all the powers and authority and be subject to the duties and obligations of the inspectors of common schools of the different towns of this state," the city had seven districts and seven teachers. In 1839 the number of districts was increased to fifteen, each with one school. The first superintendent was appointed in the summer of 1837 to coördinate and oversee the schools of the city, but he was not a professional officer in the present-day meaning of the word "superintendent." His functions were identical with those of town school-inspectors in New York and so-called school-visitors in New England, who were not professional schoolmen. He was a layman and served without pay. He resigned in a few months and was succeeded by another man, who received a salary of \$75 for the first year. During the next decade five or six men served as superintendent of the schools of Buffalo, but no one of them for more than two years consecutively. In 1844 one of them recommended that the time of the superintendent be devoted exclusively to the schools, and two years later the superintendent stated that his private business made it impossible for him to continue his educational work, which was not his principal interest. Elsewhere the practice was similar to that followed in Buffalo.

First city superintendency. Providence, Rhode Island, probably furnishes the earliest example of a full-time professional superintendent of city schools in the United States. In 1836 Cambridge, Massachusetts, engaged at a salary of \$250 a year a man who bore the title of superintendent, but his functions were probably similar to those of the usual New England school-visitors, who also have been known locally as superintendents. Buffalo, as already noted, appointed a superintendent in 1837. Louisville, Lexington, and Maysville in Kentucky each had an "agent of the public schools" in 1838 under a law enacted in that year to establish a system of common schools in that state. An agent seems to have been appointed in Louisville as early as 1834, with a salary of \$400, to visit the schools and to establish night schools for the benefit of apprentices. At that time the principal of the grammar school of that city received a salary of \$700; six years later he received a salary of \$900, and that of the agent was \$800. The agents of these Kentucky cities may have performed some of the duties of the superintendency, although that office did not fully develop even in Louisville until much later. In 1839 St. Louis, with two schools, — one with two teachers and the other with only one, — engaged a superintendent but paid him no salary. The real beginning of the superintendency in that city seems not to have been made until 1851, when James H. Tice began the work at a salary of \$1500 a year. It is probable that the experiences of these and other places, which depended upon laymen for part time, led Providence in 1838 to adopt a school ordinance providing for a superintendent of schools. Nathan Bishop, a tutor in Brown University, was chosen by the school committee for the position, upon which he entered on August 1, 1839, and to which he gave his entire time until 1851, when he resigned to become superintendent of schools in Boston. Samuel S. Green, who has been called the second professional super-

intendent in the United States, went from the principalship of an academy at Worcester to the superintendency of schools in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1840, and succeeded Bishop at Providence in 1851.

Recent development in cities. In most of the cities school administration was a very simple matter, the local district trustees and the people of the districts exercising almost complete control. As late as 1870 only twenty-seven city superintendents of schools were employed in the entire country, and in only thirteen of the thirty-seven states. Buffalo, Louisville, and Providence had appointed superintendents before 1840, and Springfield, New Orleans, Rochester, Columbus, Syracuse, Baltimore, and Cincinnati, by 1850. During the next decade the office was established in Boston, Gloucester (Massachusetts), Worcester (Massachusetts), New York, Brooklyn, San Francisco, Jersey City, Newark, Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, St. Joseph, Indianapolis, and Milwaukee. Albany seems to have created the office in 1866, Kansas City in 1867, and Washington in 1869. Although the Civil War checked the development of city school supervision, one hundred and forty-two of the one hundred and seventy-five cities which had as many as eight thousand people had city superintendents of schools by 1876. Since that time city school administration has developed rapidly throughout the country. Much of the progress which the United States has made in education has been due to the cities, where the best experience in educational administration and supervision has been evolved.

This chapter has described the slow and haphazard growth of the principle of state control in education, which has resulted in a lack of uniformity. The beginnings of state control were made when the state gave financial aid to local schools; but since 1812 each of the states has established some form of central administrative control of schools,

although practices vary widely among the states. County and city administrative agencies have also been established. Some of the conditions and problems of public educational administration and supervision have been described in the chapter, which also points out that because of the strength of localism the principles of expert control and professional supervision have not been fully applied in practice in all American communities. Localism also stands in the way of the training of teachers, as will be shown in Chapter XI.

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QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Point out any survivals in your state of the traditional objection to centralized control in education.
2. Why does the district system of school control continue so popular in some states?
3. Why do so many of the states continue to elect their chief school officers by popular vote, although their chief highway en-

gineers, secretaries of boards of health, and university presidents are not elected by such means?

4. Point out the arguments against the popular election of state or county superintendents. Why are city superintendents not elected by popular vote?

5. Why do cities generally have better schools than the rural sections?

6. What is meant by the "county unit of school organization and administration"? What are the advantages of such a plan as you understand it?

7. What are the weaknesses of the district system of public educational control?

8. In states which elect their county or state superintendents of schools by popular vote what educational qualifications are usually required? What qualifications do you consider desirable for these educational officers?

9. Trace the evolution of the county superintendency in your state; of the city superintendency; of the state superintendency.

10. What is the best type of state board of education? What are the weaknesses of the ex-officio type?

11. In 1950 about 75,000 one-teacher schools remained in the United States. Account for the persistence of this type of school. What principle of school administration permits it to continue in such large numbers even in very wealthy states?

12. What are some of the chief problems of school consolidation and transportation?

13. What are the principal purposes of consolidation and transportation? What are the disadvantages, if any?

14. What recommendations did the report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education make in regard to the reorganization of school districts? consolidation and transportation?

15. How do the problems of education in the country differ from those in cities?

CHAPTER XI

THE TRAINING OF TEACHERS

Outline of the chapter. 1. Interest in the proper training of teachers was slow to develop in the United States, although the idea was early advocated.

2 The plan of Thomas H. Gallaudet (1825) was among the earliest proposals to receive attention and to be discussed, and reports in this country of practices in Europe served to stimulate interest.

3. Perhaps the earliest attempt to train teachers in the United States was made by Samuel McCorkle in his academy, Zion Parnassus, in North Carolina as early as 1785. In 1823 Samuel R. Hall had a school in Vermont in which teachers were trained.

4. The first efforts in New York were made in connection with academies. Massachusetts, influenced by Carter, Mann, and Brooks, was the first state to establish state normal schools.

5. Schools for the training of teachers were gradually established in other states, though the development in the South was slow before 1860.

6. By 1870 the theory of schools for the professional training of teachers had been generally accepted, and in many states such institutions had been established, but organized materials of instruction were meager.

7. With Pestalozzianism came materials for the professional training of teachers, and normal schools had increased rapidly by 1900.

8. In recent years the work of training teachers has been reorganized and standards have been improved.

9. In addition to normal schools and teachers' colleges, the training of teachers is undertaken in teachers' institutes, in colleges and universities, in summer sessions, in high schools, and through correspondence courses and extension courses.

10. With all these agencies, however, there is not yet an adequate supply of trained and excellent teachers in any state.

"Educate men for the business of teaching, employ them, and pay them when educated," urged Samuel R. Hall, who in 1823 opened in Vermont one of the earliest seminaries for teachers in the United States, and who a few years later published "Lectures on Schoolkeeping," the first American

textbook on education in the English language. He and other educational leaders of that period viewed the proper training of teachers as an important public matter, but it was many years later before wide interest in the subject was developed. The problem was long neglected. Even now it is one of the persistent educational problems in the United States. It remains difficult largely as a result of the conditions which have so long delayed the development of intelligent public educational support and control (see Chapters IX and X). The purpose of this chapter is to point out the slow growth of the movement for and the conditions that now surround the training of teachers.

A perpetual public duty. Each of the states has ordered that schools be established for the education of all its children. Under the democratic theory of education each of these children, no matter where he may live or how poor or humble his condition, is entitled to as good a teacher as his state can afford. Moreover, the teachers with whom a public-school system begins each year should be stronger and of higher rank in training, in teaching skill, and in personal culture than the average of the teachers in the service of that system any previous year. The duty of training, of rewarding, and of retaining in the schools a wholesome supply of adequately equipped teachers has become and remains a perpetual duty binding upon every American state.

The idea that prospective teachers should have special preparation for their work arose out of the influence of the Protestant revolt. Along with free, secular, and universal education Luther and other leaders in that movement advocated the training of teachers. But the idea of teacher-training appeared late and was slow to develop in the United States. It was nearly two centuries after Massachusetts had ordered the establishment of schools before the state provided for the training of teachers for those schools. After Connecticut had provided for schools it was

nearly one hundred and seventy-five years before there was even a suggestion that the state establish an institution exclusively for training teachers, and it was several decades later before such a school was provided. The idea of education as a function of government was slow in developing, and it was natural that the idea of training teachers should not arouse much public interest. Successful teacher-training practices in Europe were among the influences that finally aroused interest and led to discussions of the subject.

Early advocates. Even before the close of the eighteenth century men advanced the theory that teachers should be trained for their work. It is often stated that the first reference to the subject by an American writer appeared in the plan for Benjamin Franklin's academy about the middle of the century. One of the purposes of this school was that "others of the lesser sort might be trained as teachers." In the *Massachusetts Magazine* for June, 1789, appeared an article on "The Importance of Studying the English Language Grammatically," in which it was suggested that "young gentlemen designed for schoolmasters" should be examined annually in reading, writing, arithmetic, and English grammar and be indorsed by competent authority; and that no "man ought to be suffered to superintend ever so small a school except he has been first examined . . . and authorized for this purpose." The article insisted upon the proper training, selection, and some form of certification of teachers.

The first definite proposal in the United States for a school designed exclusively for the training of teachers appears to have been made by Denison Olmsted in an address at Yale College in 1816 on "The State of Education in Connecticut." (Olmsted later was a professor at the University of North Carolina, and still later a professor at Yale.) In the address he recommended a school in which prospective teachers could "study and recite whatever they themselves

were afterwards to teach," in order to gain a better knowledge of the subjects and of the "principles and the art of teaching." In this proposed school attention was to be given to the organization and management of schools.

About a decade later James L. Kingsley, another Yale professor, in an article in the *North American Review*, made suggestions for the training of teachers to give "new vigor to the whole system of education." He thought the prevailing method of ascertaining the qualifications of teachers "a very imperfect check on the intrusion of ignorance. The teachers, it is understood, have now very seldom any other preparation than they receive in the very school where they afterwards instruct, or in the school of some neighboring district, where the advantages for improvement are no better." The condition which Kingsley deplored was to remain a stubborn educational problem for many decades, and to a certain extent it may be found in parts of the United States today.

William Russell, a teacher in an academy in New Haven, published in 1823 a pamphlet entitled, "Suggestions on Education." In this and in the *American Journal of Education* (one of the earliest professional magazines in the United States, of which Russell became editor in 1826), he attributed the weakness of the common schools to the lack of trained teachers. He believed that this weakness could be removed by teacher-training schools. In "Suggestions on Education" he said, among other things, that "the common schools for children are in not a few instances conducted by individuals who do not possess one of the qualifications of an instructor, and in very many cases there is barely knowledge enough to keep the teacher at a decent distance from his scholars. . . . The effects of such an improvement [schools for training teachers] in education seem almost incalculable. The information, the intelligence, and the refinement which might thus be diffused among the body of the people would

increase the prosperity, elevate the character, and promote the happiness of the nation to a degree perhaps unequalled in the world."

In 1829 appeared Henry E. Dwight's "Travels in the North of Germany, 1825-1826," which contained an account of the successful practice of seminaries for the education of schoolmasters in that country. It also pointed out that "to understand a subject will not of itself enable one to impart a clear view of the best mode of communicating knowledge to the minds of children," a capacity which Dwight said could be acquired only by previous preparation or by long experience. He urged the proper preparation of school-teachers for Connecticut, and said that with such teachers "the intellectual character of the mass of inhabitants would in one generation not only become superior to that of every other people, but it would become the wonder and admiration of our country."

In a lecture in 1833 on the necessity of educating teachers, Samuel R. Hall declared that there was not in the entire country at that time "one seminary where the educator of children can be thoroughly qualified for his important work." In comparison, he pointed to thirty seminaries in Prussia for the purpose of training teachers. It is probable that examples and practices in Europe influenced thought on the subject in this country. In 1825, for example, Walter R. Johnson of Germantown, Pennsylvania, suggested in an article or pamphlet that schools for training teachers be established similar to those in Prussia; and in the same year Philip Lindsley, the acting president of the College of New Jersey, urged in an address at Princeton the necessity of teacher-training institutions. "We have our theological seminaries, our medical and law schools, which receive the graduates of our college and fit them for their prospective professions, and whenever the profession of teaching shall be duly honored and appreciated, it is not

doubted but that it will receive similar attention and be favored with equal advantages." Shortly afterwards Lindsey became president of Cumberland College in Tennessee (later the University of Nashville). In an address there he emphasized the necessity for properly prepared teachers, and said that until "schoolkeeping be made an honorable and lucrative profession suitable teachers will never be forthcoming in this free country."

Gallaudet's plan. These earlier discussions do not seem to have attracted so much general attention to the subject as did an article by the Reverend Thomas H. Gallaudet on "A Plan of a Seminary for the Education and Instruction of Youth." This article appeared in the *Connecticut Observer*, published in Hartford, on January 4, 1825. Gallaudet is also well known for his early interest in teaching deaf-mutes. Selections from the article were printed in newspapers, and the plan was later discussed in educational conventions in Hartford. It proposed a school for training teachers, to be supported by the "liberality of the public" and equipped with a library containing "all the works, theoretical and practical, in all languages, which could be obtained upon the subject of education," and a practice school of "indigent children and youths." The training, which should be given to those young men who expected to devote their lives to teaching, was to consist of lectures on the subject of education, reading and studying the best books on the subject, and practice teaching in the experimental school. Those who finished the course of study were to receive a certificate or diploma recommending them "to the confidence of the public." In this plan appeared the essential features found today in schools for the training of elementary teachers. In recognition of Gallaudet's influence the students of the first state normal school, established in New Britain, Connecticut, in 1850, formed a Gallaudet society.

European influence. Educational leaders in this country derived some inspiration on the subject of normal schools through contact with the reports of European practices. In 1819 John Griscom of New York published his "Year in Europe"; William C. Woodbridge of New England published in Russell's *American Journal of Education* valuable letters on European conditions, and especially the work of Pestalozzi and Fellenberg; a part of Victor Cousin's "Report on the Condition of Public Instruction in Germany, and particularly Prussia," made to the French government in 1831, was also printed in the United States and aroused some interest in normal schools, especially in Massachusetts and Michigan; in 1837 Calvin E. Stowe of Ohio made his influential report on "Elementary Education in Europe," which was reprinted and distributed by legislative authority in Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Michigan, North Carolina, and Virginia; in 1835-1837 Henry Barnard visited schools in Europe and made interesting reports in educational journals; in 1839 A. D. Bache of Pennsylvania published his "Education in Europe"; and in 1839 *The Connecticut Common School Journal* published a number of articles on normal schools, giving their history in certain European countries. It is evident that teacher-training practices in Europe had influence in this country.

The first attempts. Probably the first attempt to train teachers in the United States was privately made by Samuel McCorkle, a graduate of Princeton of the class of 1772, near Salisbury, North Carolina, in 1785. His academy, known as Zion Parnassus, which maintained a high order of scholarship and had an extensive influence, was well known for its teacher-training department from its founding to 1811. The school also gave free tuition and books to worthy students. McCorkle declined a professorship at the University of North Carolina in 1795, preferring to continue the work of his academy, in which he prepared

scores of students for their higher education. Six of the first seven graduates of the University of North Carolina were prepared at Zion Parnassus.

In the school which Samuel R. Hall opened in Vermont in 1823 for the training of teachers, a three years' course was offered in which the subjects taught in the common schools



SAMUEL R. HALL

Author of the first American textbook
on education

were reviewed and some training in the art of teaching was also furnished. The students in this school gained practice by teaching in the rural schools during the winter. Hall's experiment was similar to McCorkle's in North Carolina, in that the feature of training teachers was added to the regular work of an academy. In 1829 Hall published his "Lectures on Schoolkeeping," said to have been the first American textbook on education. This book became popular and prob-

ably stimulated interest in teacher-training. It was officially used in the districts of New York State and officially recommended for the use of every teacher in Kentucky at public expense.

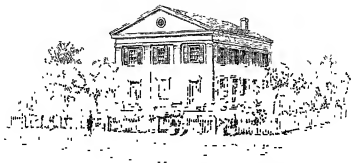
Early efforts in New York. The first attempts to train teachers in New York were made in connection with the academies. Governor DeWitt Clinton, in his message to the legislature of that state in 1826, urged that a school be established for the training of teachers. However, the belief seems to have been strong there that the training of teachers

was an obligation upon the colleges and academies, and the governor's recommendation was not accepted. But the following year an act was passed which had for its purpose, among other things, the promoting of "the education of teachers"; and although this purpose was not immediately attained, this was the first act in the United States for the training of teachers.

Teacher-training features were found in some of the academies of the state in 1831, and three years later the legislature assigned certain public funds to be used by the academies in the training of teachers under regulations of the Board of Regents. Eight academies were added in that year to the list of those which trained teachers, and four years later eight others. The report on this work in 1840 showed that the students preferred the academic to the professional subjects, that many of them did not remain throughout the entire course of three years, and that there was no provision for practice teaching. The report recommended schools designed expressly for the training of teachers as having some "advantages over any other method." Opposition to special training schools for teachers continued, however, and funds were given to eight more academies to provide teacher-training facilities; but in 1844 this feature of the academy work was abolished, probably as a result of a legislative report on normal schools in Massachusetts, and the state normal school at Albany was established. In 1862 state aid was given to the Oswego Normal School, which four years later was adopted as a state institution.

In New England. In the eighteen-twenties James G. Carter urged the public establishment of normal schools for Massachusetts, making his appeal chiefly through his "Essays on Popular Education," which appeared in the *Boston Patriot* in 1824-1825 and attracted wide notice. He pointed out the economic waste resulting from ill-prepared teachers, and asserted that knowledge of a subject

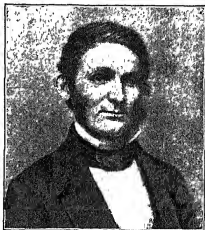
was not a guaranty of ability to communicate it to others. He believed that schools for the proper training of teachers should be established and maintained by the state as a part of the state school system. Two years later Carter petitioned the legislature for funds to establish normal schools; but the petition was denied. He showed his faith in the idea by opening through his own efforts a private teacher-training institution at Lancaster, but this attained very little success.



THE ORIGINAL NORMAL-SCHOOL BUILDING AT BRIDGEWATER,
MASSACHUSETTS

Massachusetts. But Carter did not relax his efforts to secure normal schools. The idea of the professional training of teachers was gaining in favor in Massachusetts and was receiving support from the American Institute of Instruction. Carter himself had helped to establish this organization in 1830, and a year later had lectured before it on the "necessary and most practicable means of raising the qualifications of teachers." By 1836 the establishment of normal schools had become a practical issue in Massachusetts. At that time Carter was in the legislature and a member of the committee on education, and a year later he drafted and sponsored the legislation which set up the first board of education in that state. He became one of the first members of this board, and Horace Mann became its first secretary.

They united their efforts with those of the Reverend Charles Brooks, whose lectures before the legislature and throughout the state on the need for trained teachers were impressive and effective. His theme everywhere was "as is the teacher so is the school." Brooks traveled more than two thousand miles in his own buggy and at his personal expense to present to the people the need for normal schools. Meantime Carter and Mann were working with the legislature, which finally appropriated the sum of \$10,000 to match a like amount offered by Edward Dwight, a citizen of Boston, for the purpose of establishing a state school for training teachers. As a result the first state normal school in the United States was opened on July 3, 1839, at Lexington, Massachusetts. Two months later



REVEREND CHARLES BROOKS

the second school opened at Barre, and in September, 1840, the third was opened at Bridgewater. Five years later the board of education changed the name of these institutions from "normal schools" to "state normal schools."

To these schools boys were admitted at the age of seventeen and girls at the age of sixteen, upon declaration of intention to teach and by a successful examination in reading, writing, arithmetic, orthography, English grammar, and geography. The course of study was one year in length and included, in addition to the subjects enumerated above, composition, rhetoric, logic, drawing, algebra, geometry, book-keeping, navigation, surveying, statistics, the constitution

and history of Massachusetts and of the United States, physiology and hygiene, mental philosophy, music, natural philosophy, "the principles of piety and morality common to all sects of Christians," and the "science and art of teaching with reference to all the above-named subjects." Connected with each normal school was an experimental, or



CYRUS PIERCE

Principal of the first state normal school,
at Lexington, Massachusetts

practice, school in which the students practiced under the direction of the principal and the observation of their fellows. In the practice school the "knowledge which they acquired in the science of teaching is practically applied. The art is made to grow out of the science, instead of being empirical."

Connecticut. Connecticut in 1838 created a state board of education with a secretaryship, to which Henry Barnard, who had been chairman of the legislative committee that

drafted the bill, was appointed. He began at once to urge the legislature to establish "at least one seminary for teachers," and he informed the public of actual conditions through official reports, the press, and public addresses. Though he strongly favored normal schools he showed a willingness to accept training departments in academies for a time, and even organized at Hartford a voluntary course of training for teachers. Many arguments were offered against normal schools, but Barnard had a ready answer for them all. In 1849, after a committee had visited Massachusetts and New

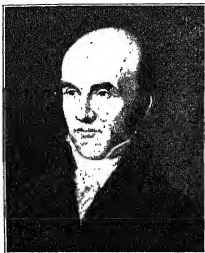
York and studied the teacher-training plans in those states, provision was made for a normal school, which was opened in 1850 at New Britain.

Maine and Rhode Island. In the early eighteen-sixties Maine established two normal schools "to be thoroughly devoted to the work of training teachers," to take the place of the academy system, which had been established in 1846 and had been declared a failure. The state superintendent, the Reverend Edward Ballard, questioned the ability of a high school or academy to "qualify teachers as well for their work as the institutions especially established for this purpose." He believed that the work could not be equal to that of normal schools. Rhode Island established its first state normal school in 1852.

In other states. Schools such as were set up in New England, the sole purpose of which was to train teachers, came to be generally favored over the academy plan which New York had tried. Superintendent John D. Pierce, in his first report in 1836, had recommended for Michigan either the New England plan or the New York plan; but in 1843 Superintendent Ira Mayhew, in his report for that state, showed preference for normal schools, which he believed to be "indispensable to the perfection" of a public-school system. Six years later a normal school act was passed, and in 1853 the Ypsilanti Normal School was opened.

Wisconsin undertook to maintain normal classes in colleges and academies after 1857, but the experiment was not successful. Superintendent J. L. Pickard in his report in 1863 said that the normal classes were "almost always subordinate departments" and were inadequate to the educational needs of the state. He urged the founding of normal schools, which were established in that state a few years later. Iowa and New Jersey established their first state normal schools in 1855, Illinois in 1857, Minnesota in 1858, and Pennsylvania in 1859.

In the South. The rise of public normal schools in the South before 1860 was naturally tardy. Sentiment in favor of public schools was slow to develop in that section, largely because of class distinctions which had grown up around and as a part of negro slavery. It was but natural, therefore, that interest in normal schools, which were intended



JOSEPH CALDWELL

The first president of the University of North Carolina, and a strong advocate of teacher-training

as one of the best means of elevating the common schools, should not be so strong as in New England or in some of the other states. But even in the South the obvious value of teacher-training institutions was recognized. In one way or another educational leaders as well as other leaders in all these states advocated the establishment of normal schools at public expense.

North Carolina. In 1832 President Joseph Caldwell of the University of North Carolina, in a pamphlet (see Chapter VIII) en-

titled "Letters on Popular Education addressed to the People of North Carolina," strongly advocated "an institution for preparing schoolmasters for their profession, upon the most improved methods of instruction." The principal of the school which he proposed was to "be selected, with time and opportunity for inquiry, from the whole field of the United States." He maintained that the business of an instructor in common schools was itself "an art not to be comprehended and established in the habits of an

individual without much time, education, and discipline." He recommended a seminary with a two years' course of study and an observation and practice school. Those who finished the course were to be certificated as prepared to teach. He urged the necessity of training "to prepare men for the schoolmaster's profession, as the lawyer, the physician, the mariner, the cabinetmaker, and men of other professions are trained with much application to their several employments." He deplored the educational conditions in his state, saying that the "evil which is the greatest of all is the want of qualified masters."

In 1838 the directors of the North Carolina literary fund (the state's permanent public-school endowment) urged the legislature to establish "normal schools." At that time the state had not provided for public schools; and the recommendation of these directors, who formed something of a state board of education, included normal schools as an essential part of a state-wide public-school system. The plan proposed was made after a study of educational plans in Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and even in Europe. In these American states normal schools developed after public elementary schools had been established. In North Carolina, which did not establish common schools until 1839, the establishment of normal schools was proposed as an essential part of a public-school system. "We must establish normal schools for the education of our own teachers, and we need entertain no hope of accomplishing the favorite object of the state in any other way," declared the report, which also urged the creation of a superintendency of common schools.

Nothing immediate came out of this report; but in 1852 provision was made for the state superintendency, which was continued until 1866 under the direction of the same officer, Calvin H. Wiley. In 1853 the state began its first public effort at training teachers at Union Institute, from

which Trinity College, now Duke University, later developed. Union Institute was under the direction of Braxton Craven, who published in 1850 a rather comprehensive plan for training teachers. The pamphlet had wide circulation and some influence. As a result the legislature the same year gave authority to the institution to issue certificates to its graduates as sufficient evidence of ability to teach in any of the common schools of the state, without further examination by the county school boards. Two years later a new charter was granted to the institution, and its name was changed to Normal College. The governor of the state was made ex-officio president, and the state superintendent ex-officio secretary of the trustees. From that time until 1859, when the name was changed to Trinity College and all public relations severed, Normal College continued its work of training teachers in a course that comprised the work of three years. The state made no other attempt at the public training of teachers, however, until 1876.

Virginia. As a result of educational conventions in Virginia (see Chapter VIII) in the eighteen-forties definite recommendations were made for the establishment of normal schools in that state. One of the most valuable of these was prepared by Henry Ruffner, who was president of Washington College (now Washington and Lee University) and father of William H. Ruffner, Virginia's superintendent of public schools from 1870 to 1882. Henry Ruffner presided over a convention in Lexington in 1841, and he presented to the legislature a state school plan which included, among other modern features, schools designed especially for the training of teachers. Later a convention held in Richmond made the same recommendations to the legislature, but it was not until 1884 that the Old Dominion established a normal school.

South Carolina. The story is much the same in South Carolina, which also delayed action, although a school sys-

tem principally for poor children had been established by the state in 1811. As early as 1839, however, Professors Stephen Elliott and James H. Thornwell of South Carolina College were requested by the governor to make a study of conditions in the state and report an improved school plan. The report pointed out the need for normal schools and urged that they be established. In 1847, as a result of action by the State Agricultural Society the preceding year, appeared another report, prepared under the direction of R. E. W. Allston, urging state supervision and a normal school with a "model school attached." Later a legislative committee of five members, with Henry Sumner as chairman, made similar recommendations, which were substantially indorsed by an educational convention in Columbia still later. Charleston, which by legislative permission inaugurated a school system in 1856, two years later established a girls' high school with a normal department. The value of normal schools was recognized, and their establishment by the state was urged; but nothing came of the recommendations, and it was not until 1895 that South Carolina established a state normal school.

Florida. In 1851 the legislature of Florida established the East Florida Seminary and the West Florida Seminary, the first purpose of these institutions being "the instruction of persons, both male and female, in the art of teaching all the various branches that pertain to a good common school education; and next, to give instruction in the mechanic arts, in husbandry and agricultural chemistry, in the fundamental laws, and in what regards the rights and duties of citizens." But the teacher-training departments seem not to have been very strong, and it was not until 1887 that Florida established a state normal school.

Louisiana. In 1858 the legislature of Louisiana established a normal-school department in the public high school in New Orleans, and the following year an appropriation of

\$5000 was made for its support. In 1860 the sum of \$10,000 was appropriated for buildings on condition that the city would appropriate a similar sum, and forty-eight pupils, to be selected by the governor, were to be admitted free of tuition charge. A legislative appropriation of \$3000 was made to this school in 1862. The first state normal school was established in 1884.

Other states in the South. In 1848 the legislature of Mississippi considered the question of establishing a state institution for the training of teachers, and the trustees of Mississippi College at Clinton made an effort to have that institution transformed into a normal school; but the legislative committee on normal schools made an adverse report on the subject. In the same year a special legislative committee on normal schools was appointed. It made a report and offered a bill to establish a state normal school, but both the report and the bill were laid on the table and given no further consideration. Two years later the general school commissioner, in bringing the matter to the attention of the legislature, said that the state was forced to look to other sections of the nation and to other countries for teachers and "to overlook their foreign accent and stupid vulgarity, or be entirely deprived of school privileges." But it was not until 1910 that Mississippi established its first state normal school. The institution appeared in Arkansas in 1872, in Texas in 1879, in Georgia in 1889, in Maryland in 1896, and in Kentucky, Alabama, and Tennessee after 1900.

Conditions about 1870. By 1870 the idea of separate and distinct schools for the professional or special preparation of teachers had been generally accepted (in theory at least) in the United States, and provision for such schools had been made by twenty-two states. During this early and somewhat experimental period there was no common agreement in theory or practice on the length of teacher-

training courses, which varied from one to three years. In his report to the legislature in 1866 the superintendent of common schools in Ohio stated that the course in most of the schools of the United States was two years in length, "with a one-year's course in a few of them." The primary purpose of the schools was to increase the teaching power of the prospective teachers through such exercises as should impart to the students "a thorough teaching knowledge of all the branches ordinarily taught in common schools. This includes not only a mastery of the subjects as knowledge, which is the first requisite for successful teaching, but also a mastery of them as subjects to be taught to others. This is the one distinctive idea which runs through every lesson and exercise."

Another purpose was to furnish "the prospective teacher a practical knowledge of the guiding principles of his art, and to enable him to reduce such principles to something like a philosophical system. In other words, the second aim is to teach the science of education. This is usually sought to be accomplished by lectures." A third purpose was to acquaint the prospective teacher with the "best methods of instruction and government, including the methods especially applicable to each stage of the child's progress and to each branch of knowledge." Each recitation was "conducted with a view of unfolding the true method of teaching the topic." Finally, and not least important of the aims of the school, the student was enabled to acquire "skill in the art of teaching by an application of his knowledge of principles and methods in actual practice" in the model school and under the supervision and criticism of skilled teachers. Thus by the close of this early period or down to about 1870 the normal school was emphasizing the academic or subject-matter courses found in the common schools, somewhat old methods of teaching, and the demonstration of the conventional teaching technique.

Improved methods and materials of teaching awaited a new attitude toward child life, and this did not develop until Pestalozzianism, Herbartianism, Froebelianism, the new psychology, and other forces began to make themselves felt.

Meager materials of instruction. Before the appearance of these new forces and influences the materials of professional instruction for teachers were rather meager. Few books on the subject of teaching were available. Educational theory was passed on indifferently to teachers and prospective teachers by the published lectures of the practitioner, by teachers' manuals and guides, and by elementary treatises on educational principles and practices as viewed by the more active and successful schoolmasters of the period. But even this kind of material was scarce before 1860. The books most widely used in the early teacher-training institutions were Hall's "Lectures on School-keeping," which appeared in 1829, Jacob Abbott's "The Teacher: or Moral Influences employed in the Instruction and Government of the Young," which was published in 1833, and "Theory and Practice of Teaching," by David Page (the first principal of New York's first state normal school), which appeared in 1847 and went through twenty-five editions by 1860. Educational journalism had a modest beginning in the eighteen-twenties, but did not gain particular strength until much later. Methods of teaching had not undergone much change since colonial days. The child had not yet been recognized as the center of the teaching process, emphasis in the classroom was still on deadly memorization and the hearing of lessons, and relics of the cruelty of Calvinism still lingered in the severe discipline of the time.

Later development. Beginning with Pestalozzianism, however, which came in chiefly through the Oswego movement after 1860 (see Chapter XVI), materials of a professional nature slowly became available for the work of the

agencies set up to train teachers. Later Herbartian and Froebelian ideas added to the professional subject matter which could be used in the teacher-training schools, and these institutions, both private and public, showed rapid growth after 1870. In addition to the publicly supported normal schools found in twenty-two states in 1870, a few cities were maintaining this type of institution to train and improve their own teachers, and there were many private normal schools also.

After 1870 the normal-school idea grew somewhat rapidly. By 1900 the number of public schools engaged in the training of teachers had increased to 170, and the private normal schools numbered 118. The public normal schools had over 43,000 students and graduated 8700 in that year; the students in the private schools numbered 20,000 and there were 1600 graduates. The leading subjects taught in the normal schools of the period included the history of education, the theory of education, school organization and supervision, school management and discipline, school hygiene, psychology and child study, ethics, school laws, and practical pedagogy.

As late as 1900 the typical normal school provided only two years of work beyond the high school. For a long time it was essentially a high school with some professional work added. Generally the normal school admitted its students from the elementary school; its primary purpose was to train teachers for the common schools. Normal schools with high-school departments continued for many years, but since 1900 such departments have been discontinued.

Reorganization in recent years. Since 1900 the normal schools have gradually tended to increase their requirements. With the growth of public high schools it has been less and less necessary for the normal schools to provide high-school instruction, and they have more and more been able to require high-school graduation for admission. As

early as 1918 nearly half the states had fixed this as the standard of admission. Until the 1920's the commonly accepted standard of professional training was two years above high school. But after that time the tendency was toward four-year, degree-granting teachers' colleges; and after the 1930's the tendency was to increase the period of the professional training of teachers. Graduation from a standard college, following the completion of a standard high-school course, is today generally regarded as the minimum academic preparation necessary for teachers in high schools.

Present tendencies. Historically, however, the certificate that was accepted for teaching in the elementary schools was also accepted for teaching in the high schools. This practice was followed generally before high schools were standardized. With high-school standardization, it seemed desirable that high-school teachers should have a broader scholarship and longer training than the normal schools furnished through their curriculum, and the tendency developed to require college graduation of high-school teachers. The normal schools thus found themselves in their original position of training teachers only for the "common schools," which was the purpose of the normal schools in the days before public high schools developed.

In this way arose the theory that one type of teacher-training differs from another in dignity. The work of preparing teachers for the high schools came to be considered a less humble service than that of preparing them for the elementary schools. Moreover, the chief officers of normal schools, which trained elementary teachers, were generally called "principals," and the heads of colleges, which gained a monopoly upon the training of teachers for standard high schools, "presidents." And one educator should not differ from another educator in a democracy. Graduates were ambitious to have a "big" institution for their alma mater. These conditions led to a movement to change the name

of teacher-training institutions from "normal schools" or "normal colleges," which formerly conferred no degrees, to "teachers' colleges," with the power to confer degrees. Colorado, Illinois, Kansas, and Missouri were among the first states to permit their normal schools to become teachers' colleges with the privilege of granting degrees.

The present tendency is toward four-year colleges, to be developed and maintained as a part of the public-school system for the professional preparation of teachers for all kinds of elementary and secondary public schools. In 1940 there were about 180 teachers' colleges which offered four years' work above standard secondary schools, and granted degrees, and about sixty normal schools. Nearly 90 per cent of these were state or public teacher-training institutions.

Great improvements have been made in the standards of training given to teachers since 1920; but many of the agencies for the professional preparation of teachers are clearly below the level of effectiveness which modern educational ideas demand. One of the criticisms often heard is that the work of training teachers which is essentially of collegiate grade, whether it is given in normal schools, teachers' colleges, or schools of education in colleges and universities, is too often below the level of work done in colleges of liberal arts. Surveys of teacher-training work in such states as Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Louisiana indicate other weaknesses. It appears from such surveys that students preparing to teach are, in general, of a lower economic status than students in other departments; that the teachers as a class are relatively inferior in scholarship, and that their salaries are less; that teacher-training institutions are relatively deficient in physical equipment; that many of them are not adequately equipped with model or demonstration schools; and that public funds for teacher-training institutions are proportionately less than those appropriated to liberal-arts colleges and agricultural colleges.

The principal agencies for the preparation of teachers in the United States are teachers' colleges, normal schools, and numerous schools or departments of education in universities and colleges. In these institutions are enrolled scores of thousands of students. Many agencies have developed also for the education of in-service teachers. The report of the Advisory Committee on Education in 1938 and the work of the Commission on Teacher Education of the American Council on Education reflect increased interest in the persistent problem of the education of teachers.

Teachers' institutes. While the normal school was yet in its infancy itinerant, or moving, normal schools, generally known as teachers' institutes, appeared as an attempt to meet the need for trained teachers. The institute was probably distinctly American in origin. For a time it did the work of the normal school in many states by offering to teachers an opportunity to review the subjects taught in the common schools and to study methods of teaching and school management. Often the institute was inspirational and entertaining. General sessions, open to the public, served to create interest in public education. Through the institute also new school subjects were often introduced. The work at best was doubtless fragmentary and haphazard, and the effort to make the lectures entertaining was sometimes ridiculous. Barnard cautioned the teachers in his institutes in Rhode Island against considering them as substitutes for thorough study and practical training. The term varied in length from a few days to six weeks. Attendance was at first voluntary, and fees were charged those who enrolled. Later, however, attendance came to be more or less compulsory, and the cost of the institute came to be borne by the public.

Beginning in Connecticut in 1839 under the leadership of Henry Barnard, the institute soon found its way into other states. They were developed in many parts of New York

by 1844, and in 1847 the legislature gave aid to provide them in the various counties. As early as 1844 Rhode Island made it the legal duty of the state commissioner of public schools to establish teachers' institutes "where teachers and such as propose to teach may become acquainted with the most improved and successful methods of arranging the studies and conducting the discipline of public schools." A "model school" was established in connection with the early institute in Rhode Island.

The institute appeared in Massachusetts and Ohio in 1845, in Vermont, New Hampshire, Michigan, and Illinois in 1846, in Maine and New Jersey in 1847, and in Pennsylvania in 1848. By 1860 it was found in a dozen or more states. North Carolina seems to be the only Southern state to have had institutes before the Civil War. These were established by W. H. Doherty, who came to the state from Antioch College, Ohio, where he had been associated with Horace Mann. After 1867 the Peabody Fund greatly stimulated the development of the institute in the South.

In the early institutes instruction was given by well-known teachers, including Charles Davies, the author of mathematical textbooks, Thomas H. Gallaudet, Henry Barnard, Horace Mann, James P. Wickersham, William Russell, Louis Agassiz, and Arnold Guyot. A Providence newspaper commenting upon the work of the institute in Rhode Island said, "No teacher can have witnessed the courteous manners, and the thorough instruction, even for a day, of such gentlemen (as have favored this institute by their presence and services) without having a better standard of teacher in his mind." When state school systems became better organized after 1860 the teachers' institute became a somewhat regular feature of public school work. It is still conducted in some states, but its place is rapidly being taken by summer schools, which have become numerous and popular. The need for it has been decreased also

by the increase in normal schools, teachers' colleges, and schools of education in colleges and universities. As professional standards for teachers are raised, as teachers' meetings and conventions for the discussion of educational topics of current interest, and as other means of improving teachers in service are developed, the teachers' institute will probably disappear entirely.

In colleges and universities. Probably the first effort made to train teachers in the higher academic institutions began in 1832 in the University of the City of New York, now New York University. A chair of the philosophy of education was established for training teachers of the common schools, and from 1832 to 1834 Thomas H. Gallaudet served as professor. About 1850 Brown University established a course in didactics, or the science of teaching, but four years later it was abolished for lack of funds. Horace Mann introduced the subject at Antioch College in 1853. In 1873 the University of Iowa introduced a professional course for teachers, and four years later the University of Missouri made an unsuccessful attempt at such work. Lectures on education were given at Hiram College in Ohio between 1870 and 1882 by President Hinsdale, following a practice which began there in 1856. As early as 1860 State Superintendent of Public Instruction John M. Gregory volunteered to give pedagogical lectures at the University of Michigan, which established a chair of pedagogy in 1879. In the early eighties President F. A. P. Barnard of Columbia University recommended in his reports that special courses for teachers be set up, and a course in the philosophy of education was the result. From this modest beginning has developed Teachers College, the most influential institution in the United States for the training of school-teachers and administrators. By 1897 more than half of four hundred and thirty-two colleges and universities reported by the United States Bureau of Education were giving courses for

the special training of teachers. Courses, departments, schools, or colleges of education are now found in most of the colleges and universities of the country.

Opportunities for the serious and advanced study of education in these institutions are, however, of somewhat recent origin. Education as a field worthy of study came to be accepted by them very slowly. Their graduates had entered the work of teaching without special preparation. It was not unnatural, therefore, that they, or the colleges which they attended, or the communities in which they taught, or the public generally should look upon teaching as requiring no special preparation and should come to believe that the arts course in colleges and universities was the best training for teaching. The prevalent theory was that, if there must be special preparation for teaching, the normal school was the place to provide it and not the college or the university.

Pedagogy reluctantly admitted. When courses in pedagogy or education finally found their way to the door of the colleges and universities, they were generally reluctantly admitted, assigned subordinate places, and kept in humility as long as possible. Some of the conditions which made them unwelcome in the colleges and universities also helped to keep them subordinate. The pioneer professors of pedagogy in these institutions were doubtless often effective and were generally picturesque, but they were not always standardized and orthodox products of the colleges and universities. Many of them had not bowed the knee to the gods of the graduate schools. They were innocent of the idolatry of doctoral dissertations and the methods of scientific research. Their methods were anecdotic and reminiscent of their experience in teaching and managing schools. Organized materials for pedagogical instruction were scarce until after 1900, and the practical experience of the early professors of pedagogy formed a large part of the materials

of their courses. The standards of their work, which was limited to a few fields, were not always high,—probably little if any higher than the normal school standards,—and its claim to scientific character could not always be supported.

Still under prejudice. These and other conditions caused courses in pedagogy or education early to fall under the heavy prejudice of other departments. They still suffer from this affliction. Even today college and university faculties often view courses in education as vague and the professors who give them as visionary and perhaps deficient in disciplined learning. However, such courses meet the practical school needs of teachers, and the professors giving them are often sought for advice on practical school problems. Thus the departments and schools of education have helped to give the college and the university a new meaning. They are helping to demonstrate to a doubting public that the work of higher educational institutions does have a direct relation to everyday affairs. Interest of schools of education in such affairs naturally draws criticism from other university departments, because academic jealousy, arising out of peculiar fears and mistrusts, works in numerous ways its blunders to perform. In the most neighborly university it is not uncommon for committees on graduate instruction to give unusual scrutiny to courses submitted for graduate credit by their colleagues in education, even though these colleagues are for the most part quite different from the pioneer professors in the subject. Not all of them are the vapid and spiritless lecturers at large that tradition makes them; many have a store of disciplined information and of generous scholarship which they endeavor to use for the improvement of educational conditions about them.

Recent years have witnessed much improvement in the work of schools or departments of education in the colleges and universities, where the scientific study of the subject

has received most attention (see Chapter XVII). Work of graduate as well as undergraduate grade has developed, and specialization in many branches of education has resulted. Today, in spite of indifference and hostility from other departments, education has become one of the most useful subjects offered in these higher institutions of learning. On them many states depend in large part for the preparation of many of their teachers, school administrators, and educational specialists of various kinds. For the most part normal schools and teachers' colleges still have a monopoly of the training of teachers for the elementary schools; but schools or departments of education in private institutions as well as in state-supported colleges and universities are rendering wide public service in the preparation of teachers and supervisors for high schools, normal schools, and colleges, and of other educational workers.

The summer session. The summer session, which has become a regular period of instruction in most of the colleges and universities of the United States, is now a very active agency in furnishing courses in pedagogy and education, and is widely used by prospective teachers and those already in teaching service. The somewhat rapid development of summer schools in recent years has been stimulated by the growing need to provide opportunities for further study for teachers and other professional people who cannot leave their work in regular term times. It has been stimulated also by the need to make fuller and more continuous use of the rather expensive educational plants and the numerous college and university faculties.

The work of Agassiz. The summer school had its origin in the organization of field work in some of the sciences taught at the universities. As early as 1869 Harvard conducted a seaside laboratory at Buzzards Bay, Massachusetts, under the direction of Professor Louis Agassiz, the famous naturalist, who three years later issued from the

Museum of Comparative Zoölogy at Cambridge a circular describing "a course of instruction in natural history to be delivered by the seaside in Nantucket during the summer months, chiefly designed for teachers who propose to introduce the study into their schools, and for students preparing to become teachers." Eminent scientists were on the list of the instructors in this first summer school in the United States. Emphasis was chiefly upon research for the benefit of university teachers and students and of teachers of science in secondary schools. The evident value of this early summer work in natural history led Harvard almost immediately to provide opportunity for summer study in other sciences, and later in other subjects. Other efforts more permanent than Agassiz's experiment followed under scholarly guidance at Woods Hole, Massachusetts, and Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island. Outgrowths of these beginnings are many biological schools of the present chiefly concerned with original research.

The Chautauqua. Another influence on the early development of the summer school arose out of the Chautauqua movement. The Chautauqua Assembly, which was formed at Chautauqua Lake, New York, in 1874, under the leadership of Bishop J. H. Vincent, of the Methodist Church, is said to have grown out of a religious camp meeting and a Sunday-school institute. Popular summer meetings with inspirational lectures soon came to be characteristic features of the Chautauqua, which became popular and was widely imitated in the United States. Soon most of the universities and many of the colleges caught the idea of summer courses for teachers.

Recent development. Work of this kind was begun at the University of North Carolina in 1877, but it was suspended eight years later, to be revived, however, in 1894. Summer work was provided at the University of Wisconsin in 1887 under the auspices of the teachers' association of the state, and five years later Cornell established a summer

session. Other universities and colleges followed, until now the summer school is an important part of the organized facilities for higher and professional education. It is serving thousands of teachers and prospective teachers every year. Probably one third of all the teachers of the United States are found annually in summer, or vacation, schools.

In the light of the recent rapid development and the present wide popularity of the summer school it seems somewhat surprising that the practical-mindedness of the American people should have so long permitted the idleness of their educational plants. This idleness was enforced by the traditions of the old academic year, which allowed college and university buildings, libraries, laboratories, and other equipment to remain empty and unused through the summer months. The economic sense of the American people finally came to abhor the disuse of their immense educational resources, and the existence of the physical plants and teaching staffs in educational institutions appeared as an argument for their fullest use.

Aside from this very economic argument, there arose the demand for opportunity for vocational and professional study and advancement. With the increased applications of science had come increased leisure, leisure which people of intellectual interests sought to use for their own personal improvement. The summer session also appealed especially to teachers. Definite plans for certificating and paying teachers on the basis of professional study began to develop in the various states, and numberless teachers were thus encouraged to attend summer school in the interest of increased teaching effectiveness, of larger salaries for themselves, and in the interest also of the public good. Probably three fourths of the scores of thousands of students who attended summer sessions in 1940 took courses in professional education.

Conditions and tendencies. Significant also is the increasing variety of the provision for instruction in summer sessions. Gradually some institutions are endeavoring through this means to provide courses similar to those offered in regular term time. In addition there are scientific field courses often conducted away from the institutions. Courses in languages, in government and international affairs, and in art are carried on in Europe. Vassar invites mothers to courses in eugenics. Bryn Mawr offers courses to working women. At the University of Virginia, at Williamstown in Massachusetts, at Athens in Georgia, appear summer institutes for the study of domestic policies and contemporary vital problems of local, municipal, state, and national governments. Public affairs are discussed in non-technical language by able men of practical affairs who have influence in public life today. The ideas of Agassiz in 1869 and of Vincent in 1874 renew their strength with the coming of every summer.

Summer schools do not always resemble the early educational efforts out of which they developed. Few of them, if any, are as scientific or scholarly throughout as the summer work begun by Agassiz. That provided limited opportunity for scientific specialization and appealed to only a few students. Nor are all the summer schools of the present conducted on the Chautauqua or Sunday-school model designed by Vincent. They are generally open to all teachers or prospective teachers who think they can profit by the program, and in many the popularization of the program is encouraged. Moreover, the state certification requirements for teachers have helped greatly to swell the enrollments in summer schools, and some of the larger ones number their students by the thousands. The criticism that American education has become in part a matter for mass production applies with considerable force to the training of teachers in the typical American summer session.

Inadequate provision for training teachers. Arrangements for the education of teachers are very numerous in the United States: teachers' colleges, normal schools, departments and schools of education in colleges and universities, courses in high schools, and extension and correspondence courses in higher educational institutions. And yet the education of teachers is still inadequate, as the National Survey of the Education of Teachers revealed in 1933. This survey was made during three years of careful study of the problem, provided for by the Congress and included in the survey program of the United States Office of Education.¹ In 1938 the American Council of Education projected a study of teaching in the elementary and secondary schools of the United States, on the underlying principle that provision for the adequate preparation of teachers was a social obligation of increasing importance in a democracy in which all American young people of elementary-school, high-school, and junior-college age would probably soon be in the elementary and high schools and junior colleges of the country. The teachers in these schools would exercise a major influence upon these young people for twelve or fourteen years.

Present problems. The story of the movement to educate and properly prepare teachers for the different kinds of schools in the United States shows that this is a persistent responsibility. The task of discovering, properly educating, and securing and properly rewarding the services of a sufficient number of such teachers is a heavy task that has long confronted and continues to confront every American state. The story also shows that equality of educational opportunity can never be attained until this problem is properly solved. From this story it may be learned that excellent teachers arise and develop only among

¹ Under the direction of Professor E. S. Evenden, of Columbia University. Six volumes. Volume VI, "Summary and Interpretation," reveals actual conditions at the time of the publication of the survey.

a people who themselves discriminate between the mediocre and the excellent, between that which is superficial and that which is genuine; and that the responsibility for leading a people to a proper appreciation of good teachers rests ultimately upon the governing educational authorities of the state.

Improvement in the preparation of teachers can be assured only when the educational leaders are themselves satisfied with nothing less than a body of teachers possessing adequate training and enjoying a professional recognition that will attract and satisfy any high aspirations and economic needs of the ablest men and women. Governing authority can open the doors to finer preparation for the lives of those who teach, in the interest of those who are taught. Educational inequalities, now obvious in most of the states, must continue to exist so long as teachers are inadequately trained and indifferently rewarded.

This chapter has indicated some of the causes of the slow growth of interest in the training of teachers in the United States. Only a little progress had been made by 1860; but since that time the theory that teachers should have professional training has been accepted, and schools for this purpose have been established in all the states. In recent years the work has been reorganized, standards have been raised, and facilities for the professional training of teachers have increased; but with all the agencies now available for this work, there is not yet an adequate supply of properly trained teachers in any American state. Moreover, the conditions surrounding teachers and teaching are still unwholesome and unattractive in many American communities, notwithstanding the progress made since 1920. Some of these conditions are discussed in Chapter XII.

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QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Account for the slow development of public agencies for the training of teachers.

2. Study and report on European influences on the training of teachers in the United States during the nineteenth century.

3. Why have the colleges and universities held an attitude of hostility or indifference to departments or schools of education in their organization?

4. Make a study of the development and present conditions of teacher-training agencies in your state.

5. Note the perspective which Caldwell had for the training of teachers in North Carolina in 1832.

6. Why is the work of preparing teachers for the high schools looked upon as less humble than that of preparing them for the elementary schools?

7. Study the findings of surveys of teacher-training work in the United States as given on page 331, that students preparing to teach are of lower economic status than other students and relatively inferior in scholarship. How can these conditions be improved?

8. Trace the development of summer sessions in the United States.

9. Outline a plan for the adequate training of an adequate supply of teachers for your state, and see how such a plan differs from what the state is now doing for the training of teachers.

10. What was the purpose of the national survey of the education of teachers which was published in 1935?

11. Study and report on Volume VI of that survey.

CHAPTER XII

TEACHERS AND TEACHING

Outline of the chapter. 1. The problem of providing a sufficient supply of excellent school-teachers and managers is not yet solved.

2. Historically the typical American teacher is unattractive, made so both by tradition and the fact of his actual unattractiveness, and also by localism and the influence of the church in the early days.

3. The inferior scholarship of the early teachers was the subject of remark by such observers as Coram, Jefferson, Caldwell, Olmsted.

4. For a long time teaching was not a regular occupation; certification requirements were nominal and locally administered, and the economic reward of teachers was small. Some of these conditions have continued to prevail.

5. In the early days the private lives of the people were under the close scrutiny of the minister-teacher, today the private lives of teachers are under the eye of the people. In some places queer demands are made upon teachers.

6. Instability is a distinct characteristic of teaching in the United States, resulting in economic and educational waste. Before the First World War the proportion of men as teachers had decreased for several decades, but after 1920 an increasing proportion of men entered teaching.

7. Many obstacles have prevented the development of a teaching profession, but in spite of them teaching is increasing in dignity, and public confidence in it is gradually enlarging.

Early in the nineteenth century the more prosperous tradesmen of a certain community, dissatisfied with the small progress which their boys were making under the teacher, clubbed together and got a schoolmaster of their own. He seemed to be a clever young man, but he proved an unsteady one, who was regular only in his irregularities, and "got diurnally drunk."

They got rid of him and hired a licentiate of the church, who promised well for a time. He seemed to be a steady and thoughtful young man and, withal, a painstaking

teacher; but he came in contact with some zealous sectarians, who succeeded in conjuring up such a cloud of doubt around him regarding the propriety of infant baptism that both his bodily and mental health became affected by his perplexities, and he had to resign his charge. The prosperous tradesmen then hired still another teacher, a person of a high if not very consistent religious profession, who was always getting into "pecuniary difficulties, and always courting, though with but little success, wealthy ladies." And this teacher also, "losing health and heart in a labyrinth of perplexity," soon resigned. The experience of this community was not altogether unlike that of many others.

A difficult problem. The problem of securing and retaining good teachers in the United States, as the preceding chapter shows, has always been difficult. It was not an easy problem in the seventeenth century. It was troublesome in the eighteenth and even in the nineteenth, and it is often vexatious even now. Although numerous agencies are maintained for the professional training of teachers, and although every year probably sees improvement in those who manage and teach schools, the problem of providing a sufficient supply of good school managers and teachers is not yet solved. The vocation of teaching is still unstable in the United States. There is also a rather discouraging lack of selective methods in recruiting the teaching ranks in the schools.

Characteristics of early teachers. One does not have to exercise any freedom that belongs to the story-teller to furnish a rather faithful account or picture of American school-teachers. The records themselves tell the story. Although he has greatly improved and is becoming more and more reputable, the American school-teacher as a type has a shady past. He has not always been an inspiring figure or even a person of good repute. Ugly things have been said about him, often because he was ugly. Often he

was ignorant, sometimes almost illiterate, and knew little more than his pupils, if any more. Occasionally he was a man of doubtful probity in his private life, unapproved for moral excellence. He was shiftless, migratory, and itinerant, poorly paid and as poorly esteemed by the public, and lacked in professional standards largely because no such standards had been established. Now and then, if the records are to be believed, he was given to loose living and was generally unwilling to assume social responsibilities. He was always poor in this world's goods, and his nominal wages were often paid in part by the practice of "boarding around." He was generally poor in spirit except when he was in a state of inebriety, a not uncommon condition of the teacher in the early days. The typical American school-teacher has also been a timid person; aggressiveness is not a mark of all school-teachers today. Ichabod Crane, the timorous Yankee who was chased at night by his Dutch rival in love masquerading as a headless horseman and frightening Ichabod out of his job and away from the neighborhood, is not altogether a fiction of literature. As a type of the early American teacher he is probably not an exaggeration.

Historically unattractive. The teacher is historically an unattractive person not only because tradition and his actual unattractiveness made him so, but because he and his profession have suffered severely from the evils of localism, the local-rights theory of the small community. The school district, no matter how small, was early taught to exercise its right to select and to license its own teachers, and it was encouraged by an attractive and popular political philosophy to resent any interference from a larger administrative unit. It was slow to give up any of its early rights, the jealous exercise of which discouraged standards by which good teachers and good teaching could have been had and known. The need for better teachers was not likely to be keenly felt

by the local community. Home-grown teachers — favored daughters or other relatives of district-school officials — were often employed to teach in the local schools in which they had received their only formal education. These teachers were considered good enough for the families of the neighborhood and were acceptable to all, except perhaps those whose sons or daughters were unsuccessful candidates for the local teaching positions. School-teaching could not be viewed as a professional activity while these conditions continued.

The influence of the church. The church, especially during colonial times, also served to prevent teaching from acquiring a professional character. In New England, where education was so long in the hands of the church, teaching was looked upon as a function of the clergy. The teachers were often ministers, and those candidates who were not ministers were generally examined by them. In the middle colonies education was for the most part parochial, the clergymen serving as teachers, and in the Southern colonies the church was not without authority in the control of those who taught. The fitness of candidates to teach school was determined in large part not in a professional manner or on the basis of educational preparation, but by the religious condition of the candidates, and for this a certificate or testimonial was required. Perhaps in these practices may be found partial explanation of the belief (still prevalent in some communities) that the superintendent, principal, or teacher of the school should be able at any time and even upon short notice to perform certain functions ordinarily performed by the minister.

Inferior scholarship. Scholastic requirements of the early schoolmaster were not high. In New Hampshire, for example, as late as 1719 the ability to teach children to read and write was the only educational requirement, and seventy years elapsed before arithmetic was added as a subject which the

master was expected to teach. This was doubtless the practice elsewhere as well. In a commencement speech at Yale as late as 1816 Denison Olmsted said that the ignorance and incompetency of schoolmasters were the chief defects of the schools at that time: "teachers whose geography scarcely transcends the mountains that bound their horizon; whose science is the multiplication table; and whose language, history, and belle-lettres are all comprised in the American Preceptor and Webster's Spelling Book."

The religion and moral character of the candidate must bear appropriate certificate, of course, but this was generally the signature of a minister or ministers, representing him to be a sober man and not of vicious conversation. If one may judge from the behavior of some who were thus certificated, however, this very narrow way to the school-room was not always as straight as the certificates indicated. Moreover, it is evident that the ability to maintain in the school the discipline which prevailed in the roughest kitchen, and the skill to mend quill pens, kept some teachers in their posts longer than their religious or educational qualifications could justify. There are records in New England, however, of the dismissal of teachers by vote of the town meeting, and occasionally there as elsewhere a teacher was engaged "for a time of trial."

Early teachers deficient. The rector at Annapolis, Maryland, reported in the late seventeenth century that the occupation of school-teaching was in a very low state. He noted that upon the arrival of every ship "with either redemptioners or convicts" schoolmasters were "regularly advertised for sale," just as were weavers, tailors, or those who followed other trades. He noted little difference except that schoolmasters "do not usually fetch so good a price as the latter." It should be remembered, however, that at that time convicts were easily made by imprisonment for very slight offenses.

Observations of Coram. Robert Coram, writing in 1791 on a plan for the general establishment of schools, devoted one chapter to the "wretched" state of the country schools in the United States and "the absolute necessity of a reformation." The teachers were described as "generally foreigners, shamefully deficient in every qualification necessary to convey instruction to youth, and not seldom addicted to gross vices. Absolute in his own opinion, and proud of introducing what he calls his European method, one calls the first letter of the alphabet *aw*. The school is modified upon this plan, and the children who are advanced are beat and cuffed to forget the former mode they have been taught, which irritates their minds and retards their progress. The quarter being finished, the children lie idle until another master offers, few remaining in one place more than a quarter. When the next schoolmaster is introduced, he calls the first letter *a*, as in *mat*; the school undergoes another reform, and is equally vexed and retarded. At his removal a third is introduced, who calls the first letter *hay*. All these block-heads are equally absolute in their own notions, and will by no means suffer the children to pronounce the letter as they were first taught; but every three months the school goes through a reform — error succeeds error, and dunce the second reigns like dunce the first."

On the eve of the American Revolution it was said that most of the school-teaching in Maryland was done by "instructors who are either indentured servants or transported felons." Private schools in Delaware in the early eighteenth century were often in charge of men "brought into the country and sold for servants. Some schoolmasters are hired by the year, by a knot of families who, in their turn entertain him monthly, and the poor man lives in their houses like one that begged an alms, more than like a person in credit and authority. When a ship arrives in the river it is a common expression with those who stand in need of an instructor

for their children, *let us go and buy a schoolmaster*. The truth is, the office and character of such a person is generally very mean and contemptible here, and it cannot be other ways until the public takes the education of children into their mature consideration."

Jefferson's criticism. Thomas Jefferson, commenting in 1820 upon the failure of Virginia to provide adequately for its educational needs, said that the little education the state then had was "imported, like beggars, from other states, or we import their beggars to bestow on us their miserable crumbs." There as elsewhere in the United States, then and for many years afterwards, teachers of scholarship, ability, and proper fitness for the work of teaching were not often found in the common schools. The occupation of the teacher was in low repute, and those who were qualified for teaching would not engage in it. Many reasons were given in the second quarter of the nineteenth century in explanation of the fact that teaching held the unfit and excluded the fit. Those who were capable of teaching regarded the occupation as disreputable. The work was considered too laborious, and it paid too little. It attracted those who could do nothing else, those who had some physical misfortune, and those who could outbid capable teachers.

"In the schoolhouse," wrote a correspondent in a Virginia newspaper in 1843, "there is often installed a man with a heart of stone and hands of iron; too lazy to work, too ignorant to live by his wits in any other way, whose chief recommendation is his cheapness, and whose chief capacity to instruct is predicated by his incapacity for other employment." He saw little opportunity for children "in these temples of indolence." Many of the teachers were "invalids, some were slaves to drunkenness, some too lazy to work, most of them entirely ignorant of the art of teaching, and a terror to their pupils. There were a few . . . who possessed culture, intelligence, morality, ability."

Caldwell's description. President Joseph Caldwell of the University of North Carolina noted in the early eighteenth-thirties that the occupation of schoolmaster was regarded with contempt. "Is a man constitutionally and habitually indolent, a burden upon all from whom he can extract a support? Then there is one way of shaking him off; let us make him a schoolmaster." Those who had wasted their property and had ended in debt through indiscretion or misconduct; those who had ruined themselves and corrupted others "by dissipation, drinking, seduction, and a course of irregularities"; those who had returned from prison, the destitute of character, the untrustworthy, — these and others as vulgar and ignorant conducted schools, he asserted. "In our present mode of popular education," he said, "we act upon the principle that schoolkeeping is a business to which scarcely anyone but an idiot is incompetent, if he only knows reading, writing, and arithmetic, . . . and our primary schools are kept sunk down to the lowest point of degradation, and education is disgraced by our own misconceptions and mismanagements." Public contempt for teaching was one natural result.

In South Carolina. In his message to the legislature of South Carolina near the middle of the nineteenth century the governor of that state asked. "Who are the teachers of our free schools? Are they men to whom the legislature can commit, with confidence, the great business of education? What is the amount of their literary qualifications, and what is the tone of their morality?"

Answering his own questions the governor said that as a class the teachers were "grossly incompetent to discharge their high and sacred functions. . . . With but few exceptions, they are very ignorant and possess a very easy morality. With the poor pay allowed them, we cannot reasonably calculate upon a better state of things. The men who take charge of our public schools, and accept so miserable a

pittance as the reward of their labors, are they who cannot get employment on any other terms. . . . It is now in South Carolina a reproach to be a teacher of a free school, as it is regarded as *prima-facie* evidence of a want of qualification. . . . You cannot command superior talent and attainment, without adequate compensation." The governor thought it social injustice to expect one to work in the "most useful of all professions, at a rate that will not supply the wants of nature."

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century there swarmed into some of the Southern states "a class of stiff, formal pedagogues, despised by our boys, because they represented so little that appealed to the human side of the normally healthy boy, be he North or South." They were described as "the type of pedagogue that caused our boys to guffaw over their weary platitudes and formal manners." School-teachers were nondescript in these and in other states until comparatively recent times. In addition to ministers, who were not always effective and estimable, there were adventurers, and in the colonial period indentured servants who kept school only to keep from starving.

Teachers not all inferior. The social position held by the early teachers differed quite as much as they themselves differed in personal character or scholarship. The number of those who were unfit by nature or training for creditable teaching service must have been large, and they were largely responsible, as are incompetent teachers today, for the low public esteem in which teaching in general was too often held. All early teachers were not so ignoble and so incompetent, however, nor as lax in morality as tradition has made many of them. But not all the early teachers were so unattractive or deficient. A few were men of scholarship who made teaching the principal work of their lives. These constituted a group who kept alive the nobler traditions of the schoolmaster and strengthened public confidence in his occupation.

Teaching not a regular occupation. Numerous were the duties of early teachers. Among the religious and civic chores demanded of one schoolmaster, in addition to duties directly connected with the school, were those that required him to act as court messenger, to serve summons, to conduct certain ceremonials of the church, to ring the bell for church services, to lead the church choir, to dig graves, and "to perform other occasional duties." The strong tradition of minister as schoolmaster has remained in the United States. The ghost of the old demand for a teacher who could preach (an arrangement taking rank next to that of having a preacher who would teach) still stalks occasionally in many American communities. Even in recent years some rural communities have been willing to employ the combination preacher-teacher who gives to the conventional tasks of the school whatever time remains after he has officiated at the neighborhood baptisms, weddings, and funerals and has met any other demands of the church, which he believes is his best-beloved.

Physicians often served as teachers in the early schools, the time which they lost from their teaching duties through the emergencies of their medical practice being made up later. Toward the end of the colonial period one Aaron Hutch, an ordained pastor of a church in a New England community, followed the work of schoolmaster along "with his clerical and agricultural pursuits." Tradition has him teaching Latin and Greek to students who were forced to follow him at the plow. But his resourcefulness as minister, farmer, and teacher enabled him to meet many different kinds of engagements. Such conditions served, however, to prevent teaching from acquiring a professional character. Only in comparatively recent years has the teacher begun to adopt his work as a regular occupation instead of using it as a stepping-stone to something else or to supplement his earnings from other sources.

Early certification practices. The old theory that almost anyone could teach almost any school subject has also served to retard the growth of uniform certification practices. The licensing of teachers early became a local function, the distinctly local character of the early schools making this custom both natural and popular. The arrangement was simple, and it seemed democratic. The fitness of candidates for teaching positions was generally determined in a somewhat informal and often haphazard fashion. When the public-school idea developed and it seemed necessary and desirable to take the educational task of certification from the local communities and transfer it to a larger unit of control, such as the county or the state, stubborn resistance on the part of the local authorities generally followed. The struggle which accompanied attempted changes from localism to centralization in public education was often intense at every point. Especially did attempts to centralize the certification, or licensing, of teachers meet with bitter opposition. However, the contest was finally won by the state, and today practically all the states exercise some form of centralized control in the matter. Generally public funds cannot be paid to teachers who do not hold certificates authorized by the state, if not actually issued by it. This development, which has naturally been very slow, marks the growth of state control of education in this country very clearly.

The effect of this early method of licensing teachers may even now be seen. Private teachers were usually required to have no license except the approval of the minister, but those who had charge of community or public schools had to exhibit some evidence of their fitness and receive approval from some properly constituted authority. In New England the local minister generally examined the candidate, primarily, however, to make certain that he was sound in religious faith. In schools under the direction of the Established Church

license to teach came from the Bishop of London, sometimes, perhaps, from the colonial governors. The applicant had to be in good standing with and strictly in conformity to the Anglican faith. In the parochial schools in New Netherland and some of the middle colonies teachers were generally permitted to conduct schools by the authority of the church. In this ecclesiastical authority, which in most cases was generally rigidly exercised, appears further evidence that the religious motive was dominant in school instruction in colonial days.

Even Ezekiel Cheever, who heads the list of eminent colonial schoolmasters and whose memory is still revered in New Haven, Ipswich, Charlestown, and Boston, where he served so well, had the censure of the church passed upon him because of "his contradicting, stiff, and proud frame of spirit"; and Henry Dunster, the first president of Harvard, could not escape public admonition and the necessity of resigning his post when he expressed himself as opposed to the baptism of infants. Nathaniel Eaton, the first professor in Harvard and acting president until the appointment of Dunster, was fined and dismissed from his position for flogging one of his assistants.

Early requirements. Religious and not educational qualifications, and the capacity to maintain discipline, were required of all teachers, who were generally expected to be persons of good moral character. The act of 1812, which established common schools in New York, required the local school authorities to examine all applicants to teach. Every teacher was required to hold a certificate signed by at least two of the local authorities, showing "that he is duly qualified to teach a common school, and is of good moral character." Other states enacted similar requirements, and these have remained a part of the school laws of all the states.

Before legislation was enacted on this subject, however, teachers were expected to possess evidence of a good char-

acter. Some of them must have found such evidence difficult to secure, if certain records of the early period are to be accepted as accurate. In North Carolina, as late as the middle of the nineteenth century, a man applied for the position of teacher in a common school. It was necessary then, as it had been earlier and is now, for the teacher to give evidence of good moral character. But this man, who was notorious for his bad habits, had difficulty until he found a friend who gave him a "certificate of good moral character during school hours." This satisfied the local requirements, and the man was employed.

Effect of poor pay. The pittance which the teacher has received has also helped to keep him in an unattractive light; his professional status has been kept low through his low wages. Small salaries have been the result of the inability or the unwillingness of the public to pay for good teachers and provide working and living conditions attractive enough to get them and hold them. The influence of localism, already noted, was often so stubborn also that until recently state departments of education remained powerless to require creditable educational standards or minimum-salary scales for teachers. Thousands of children, especially in rural communities, are still unprotected from the indifference and penury of small localities and the negligence of the state in the matter of providing an adequate and equitable plan of public-school support. This negligence, obvious also in the adequate provision for the training of a sufficient supply of properly prepared teachers (see Chapter XI), prevents the development of superior teachers and encourages an undesirable attitude toward teaching both on the part of the public and on that of promising young men and women who might be induced to seek training for it.

Private lives of teachers formerly under close public scrutiny. In the early days the private lives of the people were generally under the close scrutiny of the minister-

teacher, especially in New England. There were such exceptional cases, of course, as that of an early teacher in Northampton, Massachusetts, who, although his title of "Mister" indicated some standing in the community, fell upon evil days through his tendency to use profane language and was fined by the court for cursing. Now, however, the private life of the teacher is often under the careful eye of the people or their representatives. It is not unusual to find communities which in undertaking to regulate the private lives of their teachers often deny them that personal freedom normally allowed to others. It would be difficult to find a community that desires to have a questionable mayor or chief of police or minister or tax-collector or librarian, any more than it desires a questionable teacher, but these public servants are not always so restricted in their manner of living. An effort may be made by neighborhood sentiment to regulate the dress of the teacher, but not of the mothers of the children she teaches. The grocer's boy may ride unnoticed with his best girl, but in some communities the teacher or the principal does so at the cost of unpleasant comment or the reports of scandal mongers. The news passes from tongue to tongue through members of the ladies' aid society on to Kiwanians and Civitans and perhaps even to members of the school board, who have been known even in recent years to take official notice of the harmless personal and intimate indulgences of the community's hired man or woman.

Some queer requirements now. Occasionally one reads that colleges and normal schools demand of teachers a declaration of Fundamentalist faith in matters of religion and of science, and professors looking for jobs are expected to sign on the dotted line. "By the way," writes the president of one of these higher levels of learning to a prospective teacher, "while we cannot be accused of narrowness or undue sectarianism, we do not think we are unreasonable

in requiring that all members of our faculty belong to the Baptist Church and help disseminate its doctrines among our young people. You are, I presume, a Baptist, of course." This young professor was not a Baptist, though he was a well-trained teacher of successful experience, held the highest earned degree from America's most eminent university, had made distinct contributions in his field of study, had given up an influential position in teaching to help make the world safe for democracy, and, after the armistice, sought to reënter his profession. But he could not qualify in the effort to make young people safe for the Baptist Church. "By the way," wrote the president of another institution which was ready to sign the same young man in its employ, "do you use tobacco? While I think there are greater evils than smoking, I would not knowingly appoint to my faculty a man who uses tobacco in any form." The young man could not qualify for this post, because the war had driven him to smoke.

Now and then one discovers ridiculous requirements exacted of teachers in public neighborhood schools. In one set of these regulations which were found in use in a Southern state and reported by a correspondent to a distinguished national weekly, the teachers were expected to make and keep the following promises in regard to their conduct:

I promise to take a vital interest in all phases of Sunday-school work, donating of my time, service, and money without stint for the uplift and benefit of the community I promise to abstain from all dancing, immodest dressing, and any other conduct unbecoming a teacher and a lady I promise not to go out with any young men except in so far as it may be necessary to stimulate Sunday-school work. I promise not to fall in love, to become engaged or secretly married. I promise to remain in the dormitory or on the school grounds when not actively engaged in school or church work elsewhere. I promise not to encourage or tolerate the least familiarity on the part of any of my boy pupils. I promise

to sleep at least eight hours a night, to eat carefully, and to take every precaution to keep in the best of health and spirits in order that I may be better able to render efficient service to my pupils.

Waste and damage from instability. The educational wastefulness and actual damage that are inevitable in unstable and constantly changing teaching groups defy calculation. The injury to helpless children thoughtlessly placed under the charge of young and inexperienced instructors who replace, and are likely to be replaced by, others similarly young and inexperienced is often tragic. The economic waste, more readily measured, is enormous. The annual expense of training teachers runs into large figures, and the return to the public in the length of service by those who receive training is small. From the standpoint of public well-being teacher-training is probably one of the most extravagant forms of education in the United States, and extravagance and waste will continue until teaching becomes stabilized.

Whatever the merits of the arguments for and against partial or complete security of tenure for teachers, remedial measures can be found to improve the conditions. Rigid standards of selection can be set up for prospective teachers; a more rational and sensible training can be given the fit, and the unfit can be eliminated; economic rewards more nearly commensurate with the economic needs and social aspirations of the ablest men and women can be provided. Too long has the teacher been supposed to subsist upon the nebulous satisfactions of his labor. Too long has public suspicion that the teacher is careless, unbusinesslike, and unfit for manly matters been deepened by his inability to pay promptly the butcher, the baker, and the candlestick-maker. In addition to provision for his material needs, safeguards from personal grudges and political exploitation must be thrown around the teacher's work, not primarily

in his interest, but for the protection of the children and the school. Pensions and retirement allowances, which have been rather widely provided, have had large influence in stabilizing and strengthening the work of teaching.

Including administrative officers, nearly a million men and women are now engaged in school work in the United States, more than three fourths of them in public elementary and high schools. Whatever the minimum age set by law for the teachers, their tenure of position is short. The turnover among teachers continues heavy, notwithstanding improvements in tenure and the professionalization of teachers. Replacement varies widely among the various states, within states, and between those who work in rural and those who work in urban places. In rural schools replacement often reaches 50 per cent annually. While the professional service of teachers has increased in length since 1910 (in that year it was about four years and in 1941 it was about nine years), teaching tenure in 1950 was still short as compared with length of service in other professions. These conditions add emphasis to the fact that teaching in the United States is still a very unstable vocation.

Some of the conditions which underlie the instability of teaching have already been noted: tradition, the lack of social status and dignity, low professional standards, and inadequate standards of economic reward. Among the women teachers, who are more numerous than the men teachers, marriage is probably the chief cause of the instability in teaching. Thousands of girls annually leave high school and enter the normal school to get a veneer of specialized training so that they may drift into teaching (which they consider a trifle higher in the social scale than clerical occupations) as an economic stop-gap until they marry. Many of them plan to teach as few years as possible, meantime avoiding the cultivation of any professional features which may mark them as schoolma'ams.

Many teachers are still ashamed of their work because of its traditions, and often they wear an air of apology for it. They are still an unselected group, largely because conscious efforts are rarely made to recruit the teaching ranks by selective methods. Normal schools, teachers' colleges, and schools of education in colleges and universities neither exert themselves to attract promising and superior young people to the work of teaching, nor are they always zealous in excluding the unfit. Administrative officers in such institutions have caught the mania for numbers which now afflicts American education so direly. Moreover, the wide practice of exempting from tuition charges those who agree to teach in the schools of the state for a specified minimum period does not promote the profession of teaching, but it does encourage those of lower economic status and sometimes those who are relatively inferior in scholarship to seek refuge for a time in what seems to them a sheltered occupation protected from the aggressive competitions of other activities. There is still irritating truth in the Shavian indictment that "those who can, do; those who can't, teach; and those who can't teach, teach how to teach." While this indictment stands, teaching must remain to thousands of those who enter it merely a job. They will continue to drift from place to place; they can develop no professional consciousness, no definite professional aim, no useful community relationships.

The hire-and-fire policy. Add to this condition another cause of the instability of teaching, the practice of the annual election or appointment by those who employ teachers and their hire-and-fire policy—the one-year-contract plan. This is the source of much hardship and discontent. The story, not altogether a lovely one, contains many discouraging chapters. In one month sixty-eight teachers, all of satisfactory rating and recommended by the superintendent for reëngagement, were dismissed without notice

in one city. In another city seventy-six teachers and principals were dismissed without notice or reasons at a special meeting after the schools had closed in June. In still another twenty-one teachers were dismissed because they were loyal to the superintendent, whom political influences were seeking to dismiss. There is the story also of Superintendents Finegan of Pennsylvania, Chadsey of Chicago, Withers of St. Louis, Ettinger of New York, who were dismissed for political reasons, and of McAndrew of Chicago, persecuted by politics of the lowest order.

Ezekiel Cheever, perhaps the most distinguished teacher in the American colonies, died in 1708 in the ninety-fourth year of his age, with a record of seventy years as a skillful and faithful schoolmaster. Thirty-eight of them were spent in one community after Cheever had reached the age of fifty-six. Today half the American states require that candidates for teaching positions in the public schools shall have reached the ripe old age of eighteen. Five states set seventeen as the minimum, one state fixes sixteen, a few require that the candidates shall be twenty years old, one state demands that its centers of light and leading shall be directed by teachers of that rich experience which comes only to those who wait until they are twenty-four, and a few do not specify any age requirements.

The passing of the schoolmaster. The earliest schoolteachers in the country were schoolmasters and not schoolmistresses, and schoolmasters they remained for many years. Before the Civil War few women engaged in teaching except in the academies and private schools, although such educational leaders as Mann of Massachusetts and Wiley of North Carolina believed that women were especially adapted for teaching small children and recommended them for the work. In the early days, however, women were not educated. Moreover, they were not given freedom to indulge in activities outside the home, nor were they considered

capable of maintaining the discipline which the times required. Immediately after the Civil War, however, they began to enter the work of teaching, and from that time the number greatly increased.

The constantly decreasing proportion of men as teachers during the fifty years from 1870 to 1920 presents an important problem in American education, a problem which has been only slightly noticed. Although the absolute number of men engaged in teaching in the public schools of the United States increased about 41 per cent during that period, the absolute number of women engaged in teaching in such schools increased nearly 385 per cent. The percentage of women teachers increased from 61 to 86, and the percentage of men teachers decreased from 39 to 14. This phenomenon has led an English observer to make the cynical comment that the American male teacher will soon be as extinct as the buffalo. Since 1920, however, the percentage of men serving in elementary and secondary schools has shown a slight increase. |

The lack of a high and definite professional status for teachers, administrative machinery which often is more or less political in nature and which often cramps teachers of professional aspiration and outlook, the low esteem in which teaching is generally held in the United States, and the inadequate salaries paid for teaching, are some of the causes which drove men from the schoolroom. But as teaching has acquired a higher character through increased professional requirements and economic rewards, especially since 1920, public respect for it has gradually increased; and as the administration of education improves and the economic reward for teaching increases, men of ability will increasingly prepare for the work, enter it, and remain in it.

Increase in dignity of teaching. Although teaching has probably not yet reached the professional level that is demanded in medicine or perhaps even in law in most Ameri-

can states, the tendency is ever toward a higher and more dignified professional status. Teaching now ranks favorably in professional requirements with the ministry, and it does not always suffer by comparison with engineering and other specialized professions. The increased and increasing public confidence in the power of the school and other means of instruction, and the recognized dependence of civilization upon education, give to the teacher a more important position than he has ever known in this country. His social position is higher today than it has ever been, and in general he is better trained, is more nearly adequately rewarded, and occupies a larger place in public confidence. "Let the soldier be abroad if he will, he can do nothing in this age. There is another personage, — a personage less imposing in the eyes of some, perhaps insignificant. The schoolmaster is abroad, and I trust him, armed with his primer, against the soldier in full military array." For many years before it was expressed by Lord Brougham more than a century ago, few leaders even shared this view of the teacher. Too long had he been an object of contempt and often even reproach, but he is now increasing in dignity and enlarging his sphere of influence. More adequately equipped than ever before, he is now trusted more confidently as a light to guide, although not every American community has gained Brougham's perspective.

But the people are slowly getting this view and demand better teachers than formerly. The public is coming to ask that those to whom children are intrusted for instruction shall be men and women of stalwart moral constitution, that they shall possess the thing called character. It is coming to know that teachers are not teachers merely of subject matter, but of youth and of men and women, and that personal and business integrity should be to them matters of inner principles rather than of legalistic requirements externally imposed — that they should be men and women

of conscience as well as of science. The public knows that no teacher can climb beyond the limitations of his own character. It asks that the teacher possess not only good educational and professional training, but also those qualities which make him a person and not a thing; that he be human, with initiative and resourcefulness, industry, tact, intellectual and moral honesty, and perhaps some sense of humor — a great help to the teacher in time of trouble. But although the public applauds a sane sense of humor, history is full of warning to the teacher who becomes a buffoon through the indulgence of levity. The history of American education reveals that few humorists have been elevated to superintendencies, college presidencies, deanships, headships of departments, or similar posts of educational responsibility. These places are usually filled by solemn men, some of whom, however, have been known to become comical afterwards.

The influence of good teachers. The American public is also coming more and more to require that its teachers shall know their special subjects well and thoroughly and as many other subjects as possible, that their information shall be accurate and well disciplined, and that their learning shall be liberal. The public is developing respect for scholarship and distrust for pedantry, and the teacher is coming to view scholarship not only as sound learning but as a means of improving man's estate. He is becoming loyal to serviceable truth and is seeking to humanize learning and to emancipate it from the suspicions with which it has so often been beset. He is coming to know that the real test of teaching is in the product, that the effect of good teaching endures. The public and the teachers are coming to accept as sound the appraisal of teaching made a few years ago by Rhodes scholars who had previously studied at twenty-three private colleges and universities and at fourteen state universities. The most significant characteristic of the teacher described

by these men as best was, "There was more of an inspiration for clean, honest living in his teaching." The American teacher is coming to recognize that learning has larger responsibilities than those it owes to itself; that the most overt breach of duty of which he can be guilty is willful blindness to the needs of his time and place or cynical indifference to the practical bearing of learning upon such needs. As the American public increases its respect for the service of learning and heightens its desire for excellence in teaching, the teachers themselves will then be more often cheered by the true dignity of their work and less ridden by the routine of their craft, to which the souls of so many are still subject. Then both public and teachers will know that the influence of great teachers outlives that of kings, potentates, military leaders, presidents, or governors of their age; that immortality for the teacher is gained only when he blossoms in the lives and works of others, than which there is no higher immortality.

In this chapter effort has been made to point out briefly some of the important conditions that have surrounded American teachers from the colonial times to the present and to show the influence of such factors as tradition, localism, and the church. Some of the problems involved in securing, training, rewarding, and retaining an adequate supply of effective teachers and the causes of instability in the teaching profession have been noted. Although many obstacles have delayed the development of the profession, teaching has recently increased greatly in dignity, and public confidence in it is gradually enlarging.

This enlarged confidence is evidence that the respect of the American people for the service of education continues to increase and that their confidence in the American principles of education continues to widen. The principles of public support and public control of education, of free and

universal education, and of the training of teachers are accepted, even though not one of them is fully applied in actual practice, but every year sees a wider and fuller practical application of each of these principles. And there is no better example of the purpose of the American people to put into practice the educational doctrines they profess than the effort they have made, and continue to make, to extend and widen educational opportunity for all. The story of that effort is related in Chapter XIII.

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QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Account for the present instability of the teaching personnel in the United States How can teaching be professionalized and stabilized?

2. Criticize the plan or arrangement for certificating teachers in your states, pointing out its weaknesses.

3. In the early days the teachers were men, but since 1870 women have entered teaching in larger numbers. Account for the passing of the schoolmaster

4. What is the relation between low-salary schedules for teachers and the inferior scholarship of those who enter teaching? What effect can adequate salaries have upon the professionalization of teachers?

5. Study the freakish requirements for teachers quoted on page 360. Do you know of any such requirements today?

6. Account for the persistent belief among many people that the teacher can live in large part upon the nebulous satisfaction of his service to mankind.

7. Why do so few young men and women of superior ability and high promise enter teaching as a life work? How can they be induced to prepare for and enter teaching?

8. List any arguments you can think of in favor of pensions for teachers; list any arguments against pensions.

9. Criticize the hire-and-fire policy.

10. Read and report on "Fit to Teach" (*Ninth Yearbook*, Department of Classroom Teachers, National Education Association, Washington, D.C., 1938).

11. Read and report on Emil Altman's article, "Our Mentally Unbalanced Teachers," in the *American Mercury*, April, 1941.

12. Account for the movement in state legislatures in the 1920's and 1930's to pass laws requiring teachers to take oaths of loyalty

13. Find out about and report on the examination and abstracting of several hundred textbooks in history, civics, sociology, and economics by the National Association of Manufacturers in 1941. What was the significance of that undertaking?

14. What are the arguments for and against tenure laws for teachers?

15. Study and report on the American Council's final report (1946) of the Commission on Teacher Education, listed above. What recommendations did the Commission make for the improvement of teachers?

CHAPTER XIII

EXTENDING THE SCHOOLS UPWARD

Outline of the chapter 1. After the Latin grammar schools of the colonial period came the academies, which were private secondary schools.

2. The academies extended widely and had wide influence, though many of them were humble in origin and unpretentious.

3. The manual-labor schools and the military schools were variants of the academy.

4. The public high school, slow in growth in the early period, has had phenomenal development. Although it has greatly improved, it still presents many problems.

5. Although Benjamin Franklin's perspective for higher education was not gained early, the rise of private higher educational institutions was rapid after the Dartmouth College decision. Public institutions of higher education were slow to develop.

6. Technical and professional schools, with Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute leading the way, slowly developed in the early period, but interest in scientific research later had influence upon the schools.

7. The struggle to gain for women educational opportunities equal to those provided for men was long and bitter, but interest in the subject gradually widened.

8. Development in higher education was very rapid, the range of studies widened, and with the large increases in the enrollment of students new problems arose.

Attempts to extend public educational effort upward were often resisted as stubbornly as were the attempts to establish elementary schools at public expense. The old aristocratic conception of education — the belief that support of schools was not a legitimate responsibility of the state, and the age-old notion that the masses neither deserved nor needed education beyond the merest rudiments — stood in the way of public secondary and higher education far into the nineteenth century. These obstacles have not yet been entirely removed in all parts of the United States.

The Academies. After the Latin grammar school of the colonial period appeared the academy, the second type of secondary school to be established in the United States. It began about the middle of the eighteenth century and held high place for nearly a hundred years, until it was displaced by the public high school, which soon gained the monopoly in the field of secondary education, a monopoly it has continued to hold. The academy was a highly respectable means of education. It flourished in all parts of the country and was particularly strong in the Southern states, where the public high school was slow to develop. The most phenomenal period of growth of the academy, which was the product of the frontier period of national development and the laissez-faire theory of government, covered the first half of the nineteenth century.

The word "academy" had been used often in educational essays to describe a school of one kind and another. Milton, in his "Tractate on Education" in 1644, had used it to describe a school that would furnish "a complete and generous culture." Defoe had used it in "Essay on Projects" (first published near the close of the seventeenth century) in a similar way, but also to designate a society of learned men who desired to promote the arts, sciences, and literature. Benjamin Franklin, who claimed to have been influenced by "Essay on Projects," formulated, near the middle of the eighteenth century, a plan for the public education of the youth of Pennsylvania which showed the influence of the celebrated English author. The pamphlet which contained Franklin's plan had an extensive circulation and was widely read, and by 1800 numerous schools appeared in the United States which in organization, management and courses and methods of instruction followed Franklin's suggestions.

Characteristics of the academies. The earlier academies were often largely denominational in control, the motives back of their establishment having root in sectarian interest

and pride. As denominations increased, however, impatience with sectarian strife was aroused and protests were made against using the school for the purpose of teaching blind obedience to religious dogma and formalism. Meantime, there was also prevalent the belief that broad aspects of religion had a place in education, and the academy slowly grew into a school which, although colored by a religious spirit, was largely nonsectarian. It was also less exclusive than the Latin grammar school had been, and reflected a growing democratic spirit. Some of the academies were small, modest in their claims, and local in their patronage, and some of them were called old-field schools. Others were more pretentious, were better equipped; and had a wider patronage.

In general the academies were private institutions. They owed their origin to private enterprise and benefaction, and were often under the control of self-perpetuating boards of trustees and therefore subject to no outside supervision. Generally they were laws unto themselves. At the hands of the legislatures they sought corporate powers through grants of charters — the right to own and control property, to receive legacies and endowments, and to employ and dismiss teachers. Sometimes authority was given them to grant degrees or to confer diplomas and distinctions, and some of them were given the privilege of raising funds by lotteries. Generally the property of academies was exempt from taxation, and not infrequently their teachers and students were exempt from military and road duties. Going under a variety of names, — academy, institute, seminary, collegiate institute, and sometimes college, — some of these secondary schools were open to girls only, some were co-educational, and others were open only to boys and young men. Tuition charges were generally made, although not infrequently the legislatures required that poor children should be taught free in return for the privilege of lottery or an occasional subsidy or grant from the state. Some of

the academies prepared students for college; in others the courses of study were designed to meet the needs of those who did not seek admission to college or into the learned professions. This type of secondary school, which appeared when a large educational domain was unoccupied, belonged to no conscious educational system, but was singularly independent.

Many of the academies became educational centers. They lent a broadening influence to those who could not go to college, and performed in other ways some of the functions now performed by the modern high school and often some of the work done in college. Taking over from the Latin grammar school such traditional subjects as Latin, Greek, and mathematics, which had been favorite college-preparatory subjects and which remained until about 1800 the required subjects for admission to college, the academies gradually expanded their courses of study. During the first half of the nineteenth century only a few subjects were added to the old college-admission requirements: geography about 1807, English grammar about 1819, algebra about 1820, geometry about 1844, and ancient history about 1847. To these conventional subjects many of the academies added English literature, certain branches of natural science, modern foreign languages, natural and moral philosophy, ethics, surveying and navigation, English composition, oral reading and declamation, bookkeeping and other commercial subjects, as well as the fundamental subjects of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Dresden work, tambour work, embroidery, painting, and drawing were offered in schools to which girls were admitted. The principal in one academy in 1805 advertised to teach, with the aid of one assistant, belles-lettres, rhetoric, ethics, metaphysics, Hebrew, French, Italian, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, navigation, mensuration, altimetry, longimetry, Latin, and Greek, in addition to reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and English

grammar. Another promised in 1818 to give in her "female academy" instruction in orthography, reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, needlework, drawing, painting, embroidery, geography, the use of maps, and the scanning of poetry. Practice in oral reading and in the declamation of patriotic pieces of prose and poetry was very common as an effort to develop an enthusiastic and devoted American spirit. The physical equipment of the academies was not above the standards of the time; and the teachers, generally rigid disciplinarians and often thorough in instruction, were often no better trained professionally than were teachers in other types of schools.

Rapid extension of academies. Many academies followed the institution which Franklin established in Philadelphia. One of the most distinguished of those in Massachusetts was Phillips at Andover, founded in 1778, the object of which was not only to instruct youth in the languages and sciences, "but more especially to learn them the great end and real business of living." The academy was so rapidly established that by 1830 there were nearly a thousand such schools in the United States. Twenty years later nearly that many were in New England alone, more than 1600 in the Middle Atlantic states, nearly 2700 in the Southern states, about 750 in the upper Mississippi Valley — more than 6000 in the entire United States, with 260,000 pupils and more than 12,000 teachers. The largest number had been incorporated and established in New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Kentucky, Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee. In some states attempts were made to provide for systems of county academies; in others some form of financial support or other substantial encouragement was occasionally given.

Influence of the movement. The influence of the academies was wide. They stimulated interest in the training of teachers and became the forerunners of normal schools;

they became the nuclei from which many colleges grew, and they served to encourage the education of women. As the principles of public support and control of education strengthened and gained in popular favor, the place of the private secondary school came to be questioned, the demand for the extension of public educational effort to include the secondary school made itself felt, and slowly the idea gained that education above that furnished in the elementary school was properly a function of the state. But the academies, flexible in curriculum and largely free from the entrance requirements of the colleges, were able to reach, before the rise of the public high school, the youth of the growing middle classes who had not yet knocked at the doors of the higher places of learning where the classics and theology still held sway. These new secondary schools, although charged in the late ante-bellum period with opposition to public education, nevertheless served to break the hold that traditional curricula and methods had upon education above the elementary school.

Humble origins of some academies. Evidence of the humble origins of some of the early academies appears in the reported experiences of that class of teachers whose migratory habits took them from place to place in the latter part of the eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth. Significant is the testimony of John Davis, an Englishman of more than ordinary education, who, in "Travels of Four Years and a Half in the United States" (published in London in 1803) tells of his teaching experiences in New York, Virginia, and South Carolina about the turn of the century. Armed with letters of introduction from Jefferson and other men of prominence, Davis opened in a log hut on a Virginia plantation "what some call an academy, but others an old-field school," to which on the opening day came all the farmers in the neighborhood who had any children to be educated. "Each man brought his son, or his daughter, and rejoiced

that the day was arriving when their little ones could light their tapers at the torch of knowledge." Davis "was confounded at the encomiums they heaped upon a man they had never seen before," as they eagerly sought to exchange "perishable coin for lasting knowledge." If he would continue with them for seven years they would erect for him "a brick seminary." For the present, however, he was to occupy "a log house, which, however homely, would soon vie with the sublime college of William and Mary and consign to oblivion the renowned academy in the vicinity of Fauquier Court House." Davis proceeded at once to instruct his pupils, not "only truant boys, but some of the fairest damsels of the country," exhorting them to diligence of study. Those common books which "were only designed for common minds" he threw aside or allowed to gather the dust of the shelf — the unconnected lessons of this writer, the tasteless selections of that, the "florid harangues" and "somniferous compilations" of others — and substituted the "charming essays of Goldsmith and his not less delectable novel," the impressive works of Defoe, and the mild productions of Addison, which "conspired to enchant the fancy, and kindle a love for reading," in an effort to engraft on the minds and language of his pupils the thoughts and diction of these writers.

Judge A. B. Longstreet, in "Georgia Scenes," describes an academy in Georgia in 1790 as "a simple log pen, about twenty feet square, with a doorway cut out of the logs, to which was fitted a rude door made of clapboards, and swung on wooden hinges." The roof was also of clapboards, held in place by heavy logs placed on them, and the chimney was built of logs. A large plank "wrought from the half of a tree's trunk entirely with the axe, attached to logs by means of wooden pins," served the entire school as a writing desk. Barnas Sears, who left the presidency of Brown University to become in 1867 the first general agent of the Peabody

Fund, said that "intelligent persons, belonging to different states," had assured him that they were educated in such schools as Davis and Longstreet described as academies.

Denominational pride. Although the management of most of the academies of the later period was free from sectarianism, yet many of the earlier ones, as has been indicated, had their origin in denominational pride. Some of them grew out of the influence of the Germans, the Quakers, the Baptists, the Methodists, and the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians. The educational work of these last was more significant, perhaps, than that of any of the other dissenters. Their faith in the value of education and their high esteem for an educated ministry led them to encourage schools of secondary and collegiate grade. Their influence was especially strong in the South, where many of the graduates of Princeton spread and promoted the "log college" movement. Among the most effective of these educational and religious leaders who found their way into the Southern states was David Caldwell, a graduate of Princeton in 1761, whose log college near Greensboro, North Carolina, was known for the excellence of its work. Another was Moses Waddell, a North Carolinian, who conducted schools in Georgia and South Carolina. Students came from many adjacent states, and under Waddell's tuition many of them were prepared for Princeton, Harvard, and Yale. There is a tradition that in his school at Willington, South Carolina, dull boys were made to prepare a hundred lines of Virgil, and that some of the brightest boys prepared as many as a thousand lines for a single recitation. Another effective teacher was James Hall, a graduate of Princeton in 1774, who established Clio's Nursery and Science Hall in Iredell County, North Carolina, about the beginning of the Revolutionary War. Still another was Samuel McCorkle, who was graduated from Princeton in 1772. McCorkle later opened near Salisbury, North Carolina, a school called Zion

Parnassus, in which was made one of the earliest attempts at teacher-training in the United States, if not the earliest.

John Chavis, negro. One of the most remarkable of all these Presbyterian teachers was John Chavis, a full-blooded, free-born negro whose ability attracted the attention of his white friends in North Carolina, where he was born about 1763. He was sent to Princeton to show whether "a negro would take a collegiate education." The experiment seems to have been successful. After leaving college Chavis went to Virginia, but returned to his native state in 1805 and continued his religious and educational work under the auspices of the Presbyterian Church. He opened a classical school which was attended by the best white people of the community, and some of the students boarded in his family. Chavis had an unusual knowledge of Greek and Latin and the Scriptures and was a man of impressive manner. His English was said to be remarkable for its purity and for its freedom from "negroisms." Powerful as a preacher and teacher, he continued his formal work until the state legislature in 1831 forbade negroes to preach. The late John Spencer Bassett said that he learned "from a source of the greatest respectability" that Chavis "was received as an equal socially and asked to table by the most respectable people in the neighborhood." Race prejudices had not yet been aroused.

Variants of the academy. The manual-labor schools and the military schools were two interesting variants of the academy. The former received an impetus through the industrial work of the Pestalozzian-Fellenberg movement, which attracted attention in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1806 Fellenberg, a companion and co-laborer of Pestalozzi, established at Hofwyl, Switzerland, an institution in which he combined literary instruction and manual labor. The students pursued their school work in the mornings and farmed in the afternoons. Henry Barnard

believed that this institution, which continued for forty years and attracted wide educational attention, had a larger influence than any other institution in Europe or America in the nineteenth century. Through its work physical exercises began to claim attention in the United States, and through discussion the public mind came to be more or less educated to an appreciation of their value. Physical training and gymnastics slowly came to ask places in the schools, but this agitation proved somewhat disappointing, although it served to draw attention to the physical needs of students. Confidence in the power of formal physical exercises later weakened, however, and the so-called gymnastic movement finally collapsed. Later, attention was gradually called to physiology and hygiene as aids in the preservation of health, and campaigns began for introducing these subjects into the schools. With the failure of the formal-gymnastics movement, Fellenberg's idea of combining manual labor and intellectual pursuits was eagerly seized upon as the solution of the problem of health in schools. Advocates of agricultural and mechanical work in educational institutions appeared early, but the movement did not gain much force until near the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Interest in the experiment slowly increased, however, and for two decades or more manual-labor schools sprang up in numerous places.

The beginnings of manual-labor schools. The earliest school of this character in the United States seems to have been established at Lethe, South Carolina, under the will of Dr. John de la Howe in 1786. It had a useful career from 1805 until the Civil War, when the loss of endowment forced its suspension. The manual-labor feature was introduced widely in theological institutions, colleges, and academies, and by 1830 most of the states had one or more institutions in which manual labor was used. The preservation and invigoration of health were no doubt powerful

motives in the introduction of manual labor in many literary institutions, but the supposed hygienic value probably had no more weight in promoting its adoption than the promising pecuniary advantage of the scheme or its value as an agency for recruiting sectarian ranks during a period of intense denominational controversy. Wherever practicable, farms and shops were provided for such schools, the time being divided between manual labor and study.

The work of Theodore D. Weld. The theoretical side of the experiment culminated in the early thirties, by which time the movement had also attained considerable practical proportions. Elias Cornelius, editor of the *American Quarterly Register* and secretary of the American Education Society, lectured and wrote on the subject, and the Fellenberg system continued to be advocated by numerous educational leaders. In June, 1831, an enthusiastic meeting of manual-labor advocates was held in New York, with the result that the Society for Promoting Manual Labor in Literary Institutions was formed, and Theodore D. Weld was appointed as its general agent. Weld had been connected with the Oneida Manual Labor Institute at Whitesboro, New York, one of the institutions made conspicuous by its manual-labor feature from 1827 to 1834. Enthusiastic in advocating the new system, Weld made a tour of many states in the interest of the plan, and in 1832 he made a report which contained the most elaborate presentation of the movement ever published, setting forth the claims of manual labor as a necessary part of a sound educational system.

Arguments for manual-labor schools. The report advanced many ingenious and plausible arguments in favor of manual labor in schools. It claimed that the system of education in practice at that time jeopardized the health of the students, tended to effeminate the mind, was perilous to morals, failed to stimulate effort, destroyed habits of

industry, and was so expensive that its practical results were noticeably antidemocratic. Moreover, Weld argued in the report that the manual-labor feature furnished the kind of exercise best suited to students, and that military exercises, quite proper in strictly military schools, were not adapted to any other and would not be until fighting became the appropriate vocation of man and "human butchery the ordinary business of life." Ordinary gymnastic exercises were not suitable because they were not productive of material resources. Manual labor would correct all these and numerous other educational defects. It would furnish exercises "natural to man" and adapted to intellectual interests, it would produce happy moral effects, and it would equip the students with valuable practical acquisitions. In addition to these advantages it was further claimed that the plan would promote habits of industry, independence of character, and originality, and would render "permanent all the manlier features of character." It would also afford opportunity and facilities for "acquiring a knowledge of human nature." It promised to reduce the expense of education, to increase wealth, and to make all forms of honest labor democratic and honorable by destroying any absurd distinctions in society which made one's occupation the standard of one's worth. Finally, manual labor would preserve republican institutions.

Collapse of the movement. This organization, which Weld served as secretary for only one year, had a short life, and his successor was never appointed. Practically all the institutions that tested the new plan soon abandoned it as unsatisfactory, and the movement finally collapsed. Practical difficulties rather than weaknesses inherent in the plan cooled enthusiasm for it, and the introduction of athletics in schools and colleges later proved a substitute for the physical features of the scheme. However, the manual-labor idea was not lost. It reappeared (in part at least) in

the Morrill Act of 1862, which has greatly influenced industrial education in the United States, and in the manual-training movement. Through these means have been achieved some of the purposes which the earlier movement sought to attain.

Military schools. With the establishment of the United States Military Academy in 1802 the military type of school began to develop. It was highly favored, especially in the Southern states. In 1819 Captain Alden Partridge, for some time superintendent of the academy at West Point, founded at Norwich, Vermont, the American Literary, Scientific, and Military Academy, and twenty years later he founded a similar institution at Portsmouth. In the latter year the Virginia Military Institute was established at Lexington upon a plan which followed closely the plan of the school at West Point. Schools with military features were established elsewhere and had grown to a considerable number by the middle of the nineteenth century.

The public high school. With the gradual improvement of the elementary schools there developed from the so-called middle classes, which were slowly increasing in political strength, a demand for wider educational opportunity in secondary schooling for their children. Generally only those who were able to pay the tuition charges could attend the private academies, and the rising democratic feeling voiced a demand for high schools supported by taxation and open to the poor as well as to the rich. A few high schools had been early established in New England: perhaps the first in Boston in 1821, one in Portland, Maine, in the same year, a few others in Massachusetts a few years later, and one in New York City in 1825. But the Massachusetts law of 1827, which was passed largely through the work of James G. Carter, marks the beginning of the public high-school movement. This act, which provided for elementary schools and required a tax-supported high school in every

town of five hundred families or more, was soon copied by New Hampshire, Maine, and Vermont. This new type of school, which arose to provide at public expense an educational opportunity not offered by the elementary schools, one that had hitherto been provided only at private expense, and to prepare youth for such pursuits in life as they were likely to follow, is one of the earliest examples of a purely American educational institution. In origin it shows little if any foreign influence, and appears to have been established to meet the needs of the masses.

By 1840 about a dozen of these new institutions had been established in Massachusetts, where the public high school arose and earliest developed. Perhaps as many more had been set up in other states, including Maine, Vermont, Pennsylvania, and New York. By 1850



THE FIRST AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL,
BOSTON, 1821

Louisiana, Rhode Island, Michigan, Ohio, and Connecticut had each one or more such schools, and ten years later there were about a hundred in the entire country. By 1880 the number had increased to eight hundred, and two decades later to more than six thousand. The development of this type of school since 1900 has been one of the phenomena of American educational history, the private secondary schools meantime gradually declining.

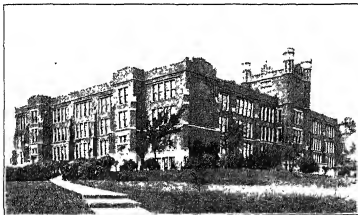
Early growth slow. However, the growth of the public school had to push its way against the obstacles of objection to taxation, the permissive character of legislation on elementary schools, and the strength of localism. Although

these gave way more readily in some states than in others, there was almost always a contest. Often it was between an academy, supported by tuition fees or by the private generosity of the community where it was established, and the proposal for a free and public high school. But as public responsibility for elementary education became more fully acknowledged, the chance for the high school became brighter. Massachusetts and New York led the way in the movement, other Eastern states followed, and as urban centers developed in the West the high school appeared there. But in the South, where there were few cities until recent years and where the ghost of the old aristocratic theory of education stalked so long, the growth of public high schools was slow. The movement, which received its earliest stimulus from the Peabody Fund after the Civil War, was greatly encouraged and supported through the work of the General Education Board after 1903. The enormous increase in economic wealth and in legislative liberality and the continued encouragement of the General Education Board have enabled the Southern states, crippled so long by war and reconstruction, to make rapid progress in public-high-school work in recent years.

Permissive legislation. Legislation in public secondary education was permissive rather than mandatory in many of the states during the early years of the movement, as had been true of legislation on elementary education at public expense. Often the law, even when mandatory, was attacked in the courts in an effort to answer the natural question of the legal right of a state or a community to use public funds for high-school support. The issue was clearly drawn in Michigan in 1872 and as clearly settled by a decision in the *Kalamazoo* case, in which the court held that the high school was a proper part of the public-school system. This decision became the legal precedent for other states and greatly influenced the development of the high school at public ex-

pense, although some of the states were slower than others to acknowledge the responsibility. Today the high school is generally accepted as a part of the educational system of each state. Increasingly are public funds provided for its support, and increasingly are the facilities of public secondary education being placed within the reach of all American youth.

Recent improvement. Although many of these early schools were high schools only in name, being at best loosely



A MODERN HIGH-SCHOOL BUILDING

connected with the schools above and below, improvement has been gradually made in the nature and quality of high-school work. Some of the subjects once found in them have been placed in the upper grades of the elementary schools, and other subjects have been added to the high-school course. Although its original purpose was not to prepare students for college, the public high school has always made provision for such preparation, and probably this is even now its dominating aim. The high school is still recognized as a part of the educational ladder up which the American youth may climb or creep from elementary school into the arts college or the professional schools. Moreover, the high

school has influenced college-entrance requirements, and these in turn have influenced it. As new subjects have crowded in, the high school has lengthened its course from two to three years and then to four years. It has introduced electives, and some schools have set up such parallel courses as the ancient classical, the modern classical, English, history, scientific, manual-arts, household-arts, agriculture, business and commercial, pedagogical, specialized vocational, and trade and industrial. The effort is to meet as far as possible the individual needs and capacities of the pupils and to help them to find and open doors to new and more wholesome opportunities. Once hard and fixed, the high-school courses of study are now becoming more and more varied and flexible.

More and more, also, effort is being made to connect the work of the high school with that of the elementary school and of higher education. Articulation is now closer than formerly. As early as 1893 definite recommendations were made by the Committee of Ten, and a few years later by the Committee of Five. Out of these and other suggestions the scope of secondary education is being extended downward by what is known as the junior high school and upward by the so-called junior college. The one movement seeks to afford a richer educational opportunity to provide for individual differences, to coördinate elementary and secondary education more closely, to furnish educational guidance, and to save time; the other undertakes to solve the problems arising in the increased numbers who desire and deserve educational advantages beyond those provided by the conventional high school, in the congested conditions of the colleges, and in the demand for easier access to higher educational opportunities and for the reduction of expenses involved in leaving home for such advantages. The junior-high-school movement has developed rapidly, and so also has the junior college, which makes wide popular appeal.

Present problems. A general view of secondary education in the United States at the present time reveals apparent disorder, with confusion in the organization of the schools, in the courses of study and their administration, in the variety of professional standards among the administrators and teachers, in the machinery used to promote the pupils, and often also in the methods of financial support. Abundant is the evidence of chaotic conditions in these and perhaps other phases of public secondary work, not only when the field as a whole is viewed, but often when the high-school systems of the states themselves are viewed. But beneath the confused and confusing standards, due largely to growth, there is discernible a purpose that promises increasingly to harmonize with the democratic theory of education, and that purpose is increasingly being accomplished. The rate of increase in secondary-school enrollment has been phenomenal, from about 700,000 in 1900 to about 7,000,000 in 1950. This increase is convincing evidence of growing success in the effort of the American people to universalize secondary educational opportunities. The public high school promises to become more and more democratic.

Colleges and universities. As was pointed out in Chapter V, all but one of the colleges established before the close of the colonial period grew out of religious, or sectarian, motives, the single exception being that of Franklin's Academy, which developed into the College of Philadelphia and later into the University of Pennsylvania. Richly endowed with a lively imagination, an inquiring mind, and a boundless love for learning, Benjamin Franklin, who had himself never attended college, was far in advance of his contemporaries as an educational statesman. He was aware of the wide social benefits that would come from the right kind of higher education. New members of the Junto (a scientific and literary association formed by Franklin in

1727 and later developed into the American Philosophical Society), members organized from printers, shoemakers, and carpenters, were to have three questions put to them: Do you sincerely declare that you love mankind in general of whatsoever profession or religion? Do you think any person ought to be harmed in his body, name, or goods for mere speculative opinions or his external way of worship? Do



ELIHU YALE

From a portrait in the collection of
Yale University

you love truth for truth's sake and will you endeavor impartially to find and receive it yourself and communicate it to others? On such liberal and democratic principles Franklin would erect a higher educational institution at a time when Harvard and Yale were still classifying their students according to the social prestige of their families. He would provide also a secular and scientific course of study

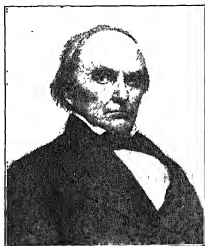
when all the other colleges of the colonies were established upon a sectarian and theological program, and would provide for instruction in mathematics, surveying, and navigation, in mechanics, in chemistry and physics, in history, civics, and government, in trade, commerce, and accounting, in international law, in natural history, and in modern languages — an anticipation of the most enlightened program of a liberal university. This chart for higher learning came from a self-educated man whose mind had never been enslaved by educational formalism and ritual. If Franklin could have had his way a revolution would have been begun in higher

education, but tradition was strong, and in "the interest of peace and endowment a compromise was made."

Throughout the colonial period and far into the national period there was no established policy for the public control of education, either elementary, secondary, or higher. The charters issued by legislatures to colleges were viewed as grants of powers and privileges to be enjoyed under the private initiative of chartered institutions. But after the Revolutionary War some of the states — among them Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New York, and New Hampshire — attempted to gain larger control over the colleges which they had chartered.

The Dartmouth College case. These efforts continued until the decision of the Dartmouth College case in 1819, when the

Supreme Court of the United States held unconstitutional and void acts of the Legislature of New Hampshire which had amended the charter granted to Dartmouth by George III in 1769. The opinion of the court restated the argument of Daniel Webster, who appeared as counsel for the college, of which he was a distinguished graduate. Webster held that the charter of a private corporation was a contract which could not be impaired by legislative act. The far-reaching effect of this decision did not fully appear, however, until large and powerful corporations began to develop, and the



DANIEL WEBSTER

Who made a celebrated argument in the Dartmouth College case

guaranty of the inviolability which the court had thrown around a private educational corporation was later given to business corporations also. The Fourteenth Amendment, which became a part of the Constitution of the United States in 1868, after defining citizenship, prohibited any state from making or enforcing any law which abridged "the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States," from depriving "any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law," and from denying "to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." In the slaughterhouse cases, which came up from Louisiana in 1873, in the Southern Pacific Railway Company cases in 1882 and 1886, and in the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company case in 1889, a new meaning was given to the principle of law evolved in the Dartmouth case, the court holding that a corporation is a person within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment and entitled to its protection.

The significance of the decision. The decision in the celebrated Dartmouth College case, one of the most important events in American educational history, gave to private educational institutions and their endowments peculiar protection from political interference. With the way now cleared, interest in higher education quickened, and the next half-century was marked by a feverish denominational effort to establish colleges. By 1800 a dozen or more had been added to the list of nine founded during the colonial period. More than a score appeared between 1820 and 1830, nearly twice as many between 1830 and 1840, more than twoscore between 1840 and 1850, more than ninety between 1850 and 1860, seventy-three between 1860 and 1870, sixty-one between 1870 and 1880, seventy-four between 1880 and 1890, and more than fifty between 1890 and 1900, by which latter date there were nearly five hundred educational institutions of collegiate grade in the United States. But, as

had been the case of the secondary school, the field of higher learning was held largely by private or denominational interests and has continued to be so held. At the close of the ante-bellum period only about a score of nearly two hundred and fifty colleges were state or public in control and support. Some were very small and weak and of doubtful reputation for standards of scholarship. But the increased number of such institutions reflects the growing appreciation which the religious leaders of the time felt for the need of education. Most of these colleges were supported by tuition fees and subscriptions from individuals with denominational interests, and generally they were administered by clergymen.

Rapid rise of private institutions. Educational foundations were established early and grew for the most part out of religious influences. Most of the colleges founded in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries were privately controlled and supported, and many of the higher educational institutions are still under such support and control. But attendance is about equally divided between private and public institutions. Whether or not the religious agencies desired to duplicate the educational facilities already established by the state, the colleges established by such agencies represent the offerings of the church for the training of its own leaders, and perhaps as an influence upon secular education, but also as a means of promoting public welfare generally. The policy of strict denominational control, so manifest in the power of the denomination to elect or confirm the majority of the trustees or in the requirements that a majority of the governing body be members of the controlling denomination, arose as a protective measure and has continued as such. Many of these colleges doubtless began in denominational loyalty, and some of them probably arose out of sectarian competition, but most of them have broadened their conceptions to include general public service.

Slow growth of public institutions. Parallel with the development of private and denominational colleges was the growth of higher education under public support and control, but keen competition with the former and the objection to taxation for higher education made the growth of the latter type of institution very slow. The effort to extend



WILLIAM R. DAVIE

Founder of the University of North Carolina, the first state university

public education upward from the elementary school to the high school and on to the college was bitterly contested at every step. The University of Georgia was chartered in 1785 and opened in 1800. The University of North Carolina was chartered in 1789 and, under the leadership of William R. Davie, was opened in 1795; but neither was in a real sense a public institution. The University of Vermont, chartered in 1791, was rechartered in 1838 as a state university. The University of

Virginia was opened in 1825, one year before the death of its illustrious founder. The University of Indiana was set up in 1820, the University of Alabama in 1831, and the University of Michigan in 1841. Most of the new states provided for universities in their initial constitutions. At first these institutions were poorly and often grudgingly supported by the states which had created them, and many of them were burdened with denominational restrictions and pestered by petty political interference—afflictions against which not all of them have yet become fully protected.

Jefferson's University of Virginia, established by the legislature of the state, to be under the management of a board of visitors, or trustees, who were to be appointed by the governor, set out free (in theory at least) from the traditional curriculum of higher education and also from sectarian influences. Courses in ancient languages, in modern



OLD EAST BUILDING, THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, BUILT IN 1793

This is the first building to be erected upon a state-university campus and is still used as a dormitory

languages, in mathematics, chemistry, medicine, law, moral philosophy, and natural philosophy, offered a wide range of electives to the students, who were to be taught by the best-trained professors available anywhere. Jefferson believed that men who acquired the habit of thinking for themselves and of following "reason as their guide" were more easily and safely governed than those who were "debased by ignorance, indigence, and oppression," against which and all other tyrannies over the minds of men he had sworn "eternal hostility." But the noble view which he had for higher

education was early obscured by denominationalism, and his theory of freedom in teaching and learning did not pass promptly into fact, the eminent Thomas Cooper being one of the earliest victims of the religious bigotry of the Old Dominion.

Technical and professional education. The establishment of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute at Troy, New York, in 1824, marks the beginning of technical education, and interest in training for scientific work (in which there has been enlarged activity since the passage of the Morrill Act in 1862) quickly followed. In the plan which Stephen Van Rensselaer outlined for the organization and government of the school, intended for the instruction of "persons who may choose to apply themselves in the application of science to the common purposes of life," the principal object was "to qualify teachers for instructing the sons and daughters of farmers and mechanics, by lectures and otherwise, in the application of experimental chemistry, philosophy and natural history, to agriculture, domestic economy, the arts and manufactures." He would increase the total of human happiness through the use of scientific thought, he would make the school a teacher-training agency, and he would admit women as well as men. Domestic economy was included in the proposed curriculum.

Rensselaer's pioneer work. In Rensselaer Institute appeared other pioneer educational efforts: something of a summer session, of a "university afloat," and of extension work. In 1829 provision was made for the "traveling term" of ten weeks in the summer, with daily forenoon lectures and examinations in mineralogy, geology, botany, zoölogy, chemistry, philosophy, and practical mathematics, with a library and a specimen room fitted up on the ship, and with provision for the "direct inspection of the subjects under discussion." The afternoons were to be given to the collection of geological specimens and plants. "The flotilla

will move slowly, so as to allow sufficient time for collecting specimens," stated the announcement, which predicted "that two boats may become extended seminaries of learning which shall literally carry useful knowledge to every part of our extended empire." The route of this floating summer school was up the Hudson, stopping at the Palisades, West Point, the Catskill Mountains, on to Albany and Troy, through the Erie Canal to Utica, and eventually to Niagara. The cost for passage, board, and instruction was fifty-four dollars. The students were promised plain and nutritious diet adapted to hardy exercise, but no provision was made for "ardent spirits." In Rensselaer's guidance of students, who were encouraged to work independently of the professors, appears an early example of the present tendency toward "honor courses" in the American college; and in the provision for "a *parlor course* of lectures, illustrating all the important principles of chemistry and philosophy in a neat, cleanly manner," is to be seen the germ of modern university-extension service.

Attention to science. After Rensselaer came other institutions with interest in science or emphasis on it. About the middle of the century Brown University began to offer a course without Greek and with emphasis upon modern subjects, leading to the degree of bachelor of philosophy. With the establishment in the late forties or the early fifties of the Lawrence Scientific School at Harvard, the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale, the Chandler School of Science at Dartmouth, and the Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn, the degree of bachelor of science appeared. Instruction in civil engineering had been included in the work of Union College, Schenectady. Michigan organized an agricultural and industrial college in the fifties, and out of the Farmers' High School, which was set up in Pennsylvania about the same time, grew the Pennsylvania State College. In these institutions the way was prepared in part for the Morrill Act

of 1862, which became the basis of the land-grant colleges. Meantime other influences were working in the same direction. In 1853 the legislature of Illinois presented to Congress a resolution which urged "a system of Industrial Universities liberally endowed, in each state in the Union, coöperative with each other, and with the Smithsonian Institution of Washington" to provide "a more liberal and practical education among the people."

Horace Greeley, in an editorial in the *New York Tribune*, praised this proposal as "a noble step forward," and said that scientific and practical education could not come too soon; and J. B. Turner, the great advocate of the principle underlying the Morrill Act, asked: "Was God mistaken when He placed man in a garden, instead of an academy? . . . Or when He made His son a carpenter instead of a rabbi? Or when He made man a man instead of a monk? No; God's ways are ever ways of wisdom and truth; it is Satan who has continued to put in the world useless nerves and brains, without bodies or souls, and to call the process by which the result is reached, education." Before the land-grant colleges were set on their way the School of Mines at Columbia, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the Worcester Polytechnic Institute, and Lehigh University were opened, to be followed by many other technological institutions later. Slowly the sciences came to receive the attention and place in collegiate education that had formerly been allowed only to theology, to the classics, and to syllogisms.

Characteristics of early professional schools. Medicine, law, dentistry, and pharmacy developed slowly. Superstition stood in the way of science and encouraged the quack, the medicine man, and the shyster. Doctors and lawyers in the early days generally received the meager preparation which the conditions of the times permitted, largely by methods of apprenticeship; and when so-called schools of medicine

and law appeared at Pennsylvania, Columbia, Harvard, Dartmouth, Maryland, Yale, and Virginia between 1765 and 1826 the instruction was very poor and the period of training ridiculously brief. Many of these early schools were private in nature — mere money-making arrangements for the proprietors, who were smart enough, however, to make use of the names of the colleges to which such schools were attached. A school of dentistry was opened at Baltimore in 1839, and a few years later another was set up at Cincinnati. One of the earliest schools of pharmacy was established at Philadelphia in 1822.

By 1870 there were perhaps half a hundred medical schools, but all of them were inadequate and, measured by present-day standards, wretched. For many years after the Civil War the teaching of medicine was a social disgrace and far below the standards of Europe. Incompetents, quacks, and malpractitioners were numerous. Even at Harvard the medical students, who were required to take only two courses of lectures in the subject, and these for only about four months, could receive degrees upon passing a very nominal examination and upon the certificate of a medical school or physician that they had read medicine three years. The head of Harvard's medical school in 1870 believed that written examinations were impossible for medical students because most of them could not write well enough. Steps toward reform were taken at that institution, however, shortly after Charles W. Eliot became its president in 1869. Dr. Eliot secured the coöperation of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes of the medical faculty, placed the medical school upon a standard academic basis, and set up a course of three academic years. But the overseers were reluctant to approve the proposed reform until Eliot had produced proof of deaths which had resulted from the ignorance and carelessness of a recent graduate of the school. Under Eliot's leadership Harvard also led reforms in legal education, which

had had a long career of backwardness, while lawyers looked on with scorn. With the introduction of the case method the study of law was in time to be set on its way to a new interest and life.

Early advances in science. Advances in scientific research, later to increase in number and in the value of their applications, slowly came to attract the notice of Americans. James Smithson, an Englishman who died in 1829, gave to the United States government more than half a million dollars "for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men," and thus laid the foundation for the Smithsonian Institution, chartered in 1846, which has had a wide scientific influence. In 1837 J. D. Dana of Yale published his work on mineralogy. Ormsby M. Mitchel established an observatory at Cincinnati, Asa Gray at Harvard was making important contributions in botany, John James Audubon, a native of New Orleans, had much earlier begun the work that made him the first ornithologist of the time, Louis Agassiz at Harvard was making distinguished researches in geology and zoology, Benjamin Silliman at Yale was collecting minerals and lecturing in chemistry and geology, and Matthew F. Maury at Virginia was "exploring the mysteries of hydrography" in an effort to find the paths of the seas. In the late forties the American Association for the Advancement of Science was formed "to promote intercourse between American scientists, to give a strong and more systematic impulse to research, and to procure for the labors of scientific men increased facilities and wider usefulness."

Effect upon schools. Science was becoming a new and strange force in the intellectual life of the United States and was later to change the work of the schools. But slavery, which had stood in the way of the applications of science in ancient Greece, served to delay their progress in America. Slavery, with its prerogative and privilege and the class distinctions which it encouraged, had to be removed

before science, which is always democratic and knows no distinctions, could take the field fully against ignorance, disease, superstition, and irrational fears. Democracy could not, in the words of Tocqueville, induce many men "to cultivate science for its own sake," but it could increase "the number of those who do cultivate it" and who could profit by its uses. In time scientific investigations were widened in application to the practical needs of men. Before 1860 inventions and discoveries included the reaping machine, the cotton gin, the sewing machine, the vulcanization of rubber, the cylinder printing press, the use of anthracite, friction matches, illumination through petroleum, the steamboat, the locomotive, the telegraph, the submarine cable, and advances in medical science, including the use of anæsthetics, and since that time hundreds of other applications of science have contributed to progress and to the promotion of human betterment. More and more was the way prepared for the introduction of science into the schools.

The education of women. The struggle to gain for women educational advantages equal to those enjoyed by men has been a long and hard one. The dream of Matthew Vassar, who wished "to inaugurate a new era in the history and life of woman" and to give to her "all the advantages long monopolized" by man, was slow to come true because of prejudice, conservatism, and the dismal predictions that damage would be the result if learning should be advanced to the weaker sex. Vassar believed that woman could be educated "within the rational limits of true womanliness and without the slightest hazard to the attractiveness of her character," but the last century was closing before the dominion which men had so long held in and over education had been broken. This reform was hastened by several forces. As early as 1848 a convention was held at Seneca Falls, New York, said to be the first concerted effort ever made in behalf of woman's rights, the delegates going a

step beyond Jefferson in 1776, in declaring that "all men and women are created equal." But their demands for equality with men in education, in economic opportunities, in voting, and before the law were laughed at and condemned by press and pulpit. Since that time the movement for woman's rights has grown steadily, hastened no more definitely by any force, however, than by the change in eco-

nomic conditions, which have sent women increasingly into gainful occupations, particularly since the First World War.

Slow development. But practical educational opportunities were at first grudgingly permitted to girls and women. Except for a meager elementary education they had little or no advantage until the rise of the academy, which furnished the beginnings of higher education for women in the



MARY LYON

United States. The nineteenth century had advanced considerably before the doors of any college were opened to women. Emma Willard founded Troy Seminary in 1821, and Mary Lyon founded Mount Holyoke Seminary fifteen years later. Rockford College, Elmira College, Vassar, and Wesleyan in Georgia (said to be the first woman's college to confer degrees) were other institutions set up before 1860 for the education of women. Meantime Oberlin College on its establishment in 1833 had opened its doors to women on an equal footing with men, and at the same time had refused to shut them in the face of persons of color; and two

decades later Antioch College, under the leadership of Horace Mann, also became coeducational and coracial. Genesee College (1850), which became Syracuse University in 1870, was coeducational from its beginning. The University of Utah and the University of Iowa were opened to women on their establishment near the middle of the century, and other state universities soon fell in line, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin, in the sixties or early seventies, and finally all of them. Private institutions soon relaxed their requirements: Cornell in 1872, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology a decade later, and the University of Chicago in the early nineties. Columbia made peace by establishing Barnard as a coordinate college in 1889, and Harvard set up Radcliffe five years later. Yale and the University of Pennsylvania admitted women to their graduate departments in 1892, and Columbia to its nonprofessional graduate schools in 1900. In the meantime Vassar in New York, Wellesley and Smith in Massachusetts, and Bryn Mawr were founded, the last-named offering graduate courses also. "But the graduate schools of Harvard, Princeton, and the seaboard state universities of the South were almost without exception barred against women" at the turn of the century. Despite the caution which the institutions were still trying to exercise against the invasion, the rate of increase of men in colleges and universities between 1890 and 1910 was about 214 per cent as against 438 per cent for women in coeducational institutions and 348 per cent in colleges for women. On the other hand, the idea of professional training for women had less popular favor even as late as 1900, but since that time interest in it has continued to widen.

Recent development in higher education. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, when most of the colleges were still offering a single course (largely of Greek, Latin, and mathematics) leading to the degree of bachelor of arts,

many changes have taken place in higher education. Even before the close of the century the most progressive and best-developed institutions were offering a variety of courses leading to different undergraduate degrees. After the opening of Johns Hopkins University in 1876, the first real graduate school to be established in the United States, several of the best-equipped institutions began to offer courses of graduate grade leading to the degrees of master of arts, master of science, doctor of philosophy; Yale had been the first institution to grant the degree of doctor of philosophy, in 1861. From a training ground for preachers — the essential characteristic of the colonial colleges — the typical American college has slowly grown, has enlarged its facilities, and has widened and liberalized the educational opportunities which it offers; and the representative American university now has from a dozen to a score of schools with separate courses, from the arts to agriculture and animal husbandry, leading to degrees. More and more do students crowd the doors of the colleges, which more and more seem to seek, if sometimes blindly, new and better ways of serving the state and of promoting public well-being generally. In the recent development of the colleges and universities, into which millions of public and private funds annually find their way, appears one of the most significant influences in all American history.

In recent years, especially since the close of the First World War, public appropriations for higher education have greatly increased. As late as 1870 even the state universities had been only meagerly supported, and in general their growth was slow. In 1890 the entire public support of universities and colleges amounted to only \$1,383,000, and two years later to only \$2,118,000. A quarter of a century later, however, the states appropriated more than \$21,000,000 for instruction and administration in their agricultural and mechanical colleges alone, nearly \$4,000,000 more for their

agricultural experiment stations and extension service, and more than \$14,000,000 for new buildings and equipment. In 1918, the University of California received legislative support of \$2,000,000, and the University of Illinois received from a state-wide tax more than \$2,000,000. The total public appropriations for college and university work in that year were more than \$33,000,000, and by 1930 the sum was considerably greater. In 1940 there were about 1700 higher educational institutions, about 1000 being under private control. During the depression that began in 1929, revenues for higher education greatly declined. In the 1940's these greatly increased.

The development of higher education in the United States has been so rapid that one person in about every 200 in the country is now attending college or university. The Western states, with a small negro and foreign population, and some of them with few separate normal schools, surpass the other sections in relative numbers of college students. Utah, with one for every 99, leads all the states in the number of college students residing in the state as compared with the total population, and the District of Columbia comes next, with one college student for every 103 of the total population. Oregon has one for every 121 persons and Nebraska one for every 126. Nearly one fourth of the students attend college or university outside the state in which they reside, although conditions vary greatly. More than 90 per cent of the California students attend colleges and universities in that state, and the percentage is almost as large for Texas. On the other hand, students residing in New Jersey, Connecticut, Wyoming, Delaware, and New Hampshire leave their home states in large numbers for higher educational opportunities elsewhere, because of an actual dearth of college and university facilities to accommodate the large number of students, the lack of variety in curricula, or the comparative ease with which excellent institutions can be

reached in neighboring states. Less than 22 per cent of the college students in New Jersey attend college in that state, and nearly 26 per cent of the students resident in Massachusetts go elsewhere to college. In several of the states many of the colleges and universities, and especially the junior colleges, draw their students very largely from their own population.

Tendencies and problems. Perhaps the most prominent tendency in higher education between 1940 and 1950 appeared in the wide discussion of its purposes, the reexamination and restatement of objectives having been provoked chiefly by the rising costs of higher educational institutions and the tremendous growth in attendance upon them. Thousands of youths, whose parents were not college-bred, accepted at face value the statements of college presidents and professors that wide opportunities lay in attendance upon the college and university. Youth responded to the appeal and annually flocked to college by multitudes. Enrollments in higher educational institutions between 1940 and 1950 increased more rapidly than ever before. Costs also mounted. But many of those who in the lean years of college attendance were the strongest advocates of higher education often displayed a lack of faith in it as a panacea for individual and social ills. Numerous and loud were the protests that the colleges were being filled with morons, and cries of alarm and of dismay came from professors and administrative officers in the face of statistics of the higher mortality of their students. The mania for numbers and the "college contagion" provoked an academic hysteria and a feverish excitement in which presidents, professors, and deans found it difficult to preserve their patience and peace. Hope seemed to appear, however, in studies and reports on these new problems of the colleges, in such arrangements as "freshman week," and in "new college plans," faculty counselors, and other expedients which are becoming more and

more fashionable. If these opiates or tonics fail to remove the chronic disorders of higher education, then perhaps the need for better college teaching may finally come into prominence. Although instruction has probably improved in the elementary and secondary schools in recent years, scientific methods have not yet been applied appreciably in teaching in the higher institutions or in their administration. The improvement of instruction, which is still the primary purpose of the college, is probably the largest single need in higher education in the United States. On this need Ralph Waldo Emerson gave prophetic warning to higher education many years ago. The colleges, he said, can highly serve their times only when "they set the hearts of their youth on flame." Until this need is met honestly and definitely the dean's despair must continue to deepen.

In preceding chapters an effort has been made to trace the movements to secure public support and public control of education and to train teachers and to improve them and the conditions of their work. This chapter has briefly traced the growth of the academy, the public high school, private and public higher educational institutions, technical and professional schools, and the movement for the higher education of women. Some of the problems in higher education today have been indicated also. The remainder of the book is devoted to accounts of actual educational practices, of the problems of education in the Southern states (which, largely because of the Civil War and Reconstruction, until recently have found extraordinary difficulty in providing schools), of later developments in education, and of present-day tendencies and problems. To the first of these subjects, attention is given in Chapter XIV.

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QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. In what respects was the academy in the United States a native product? an inheritance from Europe?

2. What were the characteristics of the academy? the results? Why did it disappear?

3. Consider the arguments advanced in favor of manual-labor schools. Why did the manual-labor experiment fail?

4. In what respects may the work of John Chavis be considered remarkable for that time?

5. Trace the development of graduate work in your state

6. Point out the significance of the Kalamazoo case in the history of public high-school development in the United States.

7. Make a study and report on some of the so-called "new college plans" in the United States.

8. What effect did the Dartmouth College decision have upon higher educational development in the United States?

9. Trace the development of higher education in your state, of higher education under public support and control, and of the education of women.

10. Trace the influence of inventions, scientific research, and discovery upon education in the United States

11. Why did education for women develop so slowly in this country?

12. Point out some of the new problems that have appeared in higher education since 1940 and the solutions that are being suggested for them.

13. In 1950 it was reported that drop-outs and failures among high-school and college students were very high. Account for that condition and offer suggestions for improvement

14. Study and make reports on the Flexner Report and the Reed Report for medical and for legal education.

15. Read and report on *University v. Foy* (in North Carolina in 1805) which Webster used to support his argument before the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dartmouth College case in 1819. In what respect were the two cases identical in principle, as Webster claimed?

CHAPTER XIV

LATER PRACTICES

Outline of the chapter. 1. The low educational standards of the first half of the nineteenth century were due in part to the low standards of life in general.

2. Buildings were crude and equipment was meager, as reports of conditions in many places show.

3. Teachers were poorly prepared, and some of them were ignorant, but generally they were as competent as the standards of the times demanded.

4. Materials of instruction were meager and of poor quality, and uniform texts were slowly provided. The spellers, primers and readers, arithmetics, grammars, histories, and geographies help to reveal the theories of the period.

5. Complaints of the slave states against the textbooks of the time finally led to the preparation and publication of books for use in Southern schools.

6. The school rules of the period show the severity of discipline of the time.

7. Schoolmasters were often turned out of their schools. The practice of boarding the teachers around among the homes of the children was common.

In Chapters VI-XIII, inclusive, attempts were made to describe the educational promise of the late colonial and early national periods, to indicate some of the more potent forces which produced the principles of the American school system, to describe the ante-bellum awakening and the work of some of the leaders in that movement, and to trace the growth of public educational support and control, the training of teachers, and the extension of public educational effort beyond the elementary school. The present chapter undertakes to give a general account of actual educational practices during a large part of the nineteenth century. But

the difficulties in the way of an adequate report on practices, especially for the earlier part of the century, are numerous. An abundance of competent material is not easily available. The poor system of bookkeeping in use, when any was used at all, prevents an intelligible account of the fiscal features of schools; local school officials, either ignorantly or negligently, often failed to keep proper records, and the reports of state educational officers were often irregular and indefinite. However, a study of the material available affords a view, if a somewhat imperfect one, of the physical equipment, of the teachers, of the materials and methods of teaching, and of other practices which help to reveal the standards of the time.

Low standards. If the modern student is shocked at the reports of the ugly conditions which surrounded school children in the early nineteenth century, he should consider the conditions which also surrounded adults and life in general. Standards of education could not be high among a people whose standards of living were low, who knew few comforts and many deprivations, and among many of whom the decencies of life were so often neglected. Most of the schoolhouses as late as 1860 were of the meanest kind, but it should be kept in mind that at that time four fifths of the people of the United States lived in rural areas and that probably "half of these dwelt in log houses of one or two rooms." Intellectual life was bottomed upon old notions, many of them little more advanced in 1860 than at the beginning of the century. For most Americans sin was the same as Satan, who was active in destruction; there were two worlds, and this was not one of them: one was high above, and the other was correspondingly deep below. Sickness was looked upon as a visitation of Providence; mosquitoes, flies, and other pests were regarded with complacency; many diseases which have since been controlled took heavy tolls on life; and filth and vermin abounded.

Provisions for baths were exceedingly rare even in the cities, and when a president of the United States placed a bathtub in the White House in the early fifties the innovation aroused a storm of protest. Legislators tried to pass laws against bathtubs. Governing authority in Philadelphia failed by a few votes to enact an ordinance prohibiting bathing between November 1 and March 15, Boston required on behalf of the public health that baths should be taken only when prescribed by a physician, and even the medical fraternity assailed the practice as a menace to health and predicted epidemics of rheumatic fevers and inflammation of the lungs. It was a time when the wildest ideas of dreamers and reforming cranks included temperance, the abolition of human slavery, and the emancipation of women; when the public held a heartless or indifferent view toward physical defectives and confined the insane "in cages, closets, cellars, stalls, pens; chained, naked, beaten with rods, and lashed into obedience," as Dorothea Dix found conditions in Massachusetts in the early forties; when young and old were herded indiscriminately in unspeakably filthy jails, — the most depraved criminals and little children who were held guilty of petty offenses being thrown together. Under conditions such as these it was not strange that the public should also neglect the health, the morals, and the minds of children in school.

Buildings and equipment. The early American schoolhouses were neither charming nor comfortable, and most of them were located among surroundings inviting neither to body nor to mind. Localism operated in this as in other educational matters, each district or neighborhood having full freedom to do as it pleased without let or hindrance from a superior unit. It determined the kind of schoolhouse it would have and where it should be erected, just as it determined the kind of teacher and the length of the school term. Generally the schoolhouses in the rural districts were located in waste and wild spots which the plow had deserted to

broom sedge and rabbits. The records abound in accounts of ugly and cheerless places as sites for schools. In the villages or more populous communities they were sometimes placed in some snug corner near the churchyard and the cemetery, and at recess times the boys could decorate the erect headstones or leap along the flat-laid slabs "without touch grass." A community which drove a large trade in pork had a killing place only a few feet from the door of the school where scores of pigs in a single day died for the general good of the community. The squeals of the pigs outside often rose high above the general murmurs of the noisy children inside the house, for many of the schools in the early days were known as "loud" schools, the children being required to repeat their lessons aloud while memorizing them. The superintendent of a North Carolina county, reporting to State Superintendent Wiley in 1857, "had but one thing to regret, that so few of the districts taught a *silent school*. I told the teachers that I had no power to reform; this belonged to the district committees. But I used every effort which reason and fair argument suggested, to remove the prejudice which exists on that subject. Some two thirds of the districts teach a *noisy school*."

Log houses. In remote rural communities the school-houses were constructed of logs, the chinks being stopped with wood and daubed with clay. One end of the typical house of the early days was almost wholly taken up with a fireplace. The chimney was constructed of billets of wood, and was only partly protected from the fire by a thick lining of clay. In the other end of the room was the only window, an opening which admitted both air and light at the same time. Toward the end of the ante-bellum period the fireplace began to yield to the unjacketed stove, which occupied the central position in the room. On one side of the house was the door, which creaked on wooden hinges, and near it there hung a forked stick which served as a pass to all whom

nature or idleness had rendered uneasy. No one ever dared to leave the room, however urgent the call, when the forked stick was missing from its peg. The other side of the house was minus a log, the vacant space serving to light the general writing desk, a plank extending horizontally the entire length of the room. During the routine of the day every pupil was required at a given signal to take his copy book, place himself at this desk, and set about the task of learning to write. The rough benches on which the children were forced to sit trained them to early habits of self-denial, if not mortification of the flesh, in support of the popular disciplinary doctrines of the time. The feet of many of them never rested on the floor, and little was their relief when the forked stick was missing.

The log house which was used for school purposes in Virginia by John Davis had one room and a half and stood on blocks about two feet and a half above the ground, and under it the hogs, the dogs, and the poultry of the neighborhood came and went freely. The ceiling and walls were unlathed and unplastered and indifferently covered. Davis also used the house for sleeping quarters, and in rainy seasons was compelled to move his bed to the most comfortable corner. The house had only one window, "but no glass nor shutter. In the night, to remedy this, the mulatto wench who waited on me contrived very ingeniously to place a square board against the window with one hand, and fix the rail of a broken-down fence against it with the other. In the morning when I returned from breakfasting in the 'great big house,' (my scholars being collected), I gave the rail a forcible kick with my foot, and down tumbled the board with an awful roar. 'Is not my window,' said I to Virginia, 'of a very curious construction?' 'Indeed, indeed, sir,' replied my fair disciple, 'I think it is a mighty noisy one.'"

Typical conditions of early schoolhouses. Samuel C. Goodrich ("Peter Parley," as he called himself on the title-

pages of his numerous textbooks) gives a description of a school he attended in New England in the early nineteenth century which may aptly fit the schools in practically all sections of the country at that time and in most sections until much later. The surroundings were bleak and desolate, loose, squat stone walls inclosed the fields close by, and briars and pokeweed flourished in the gravelly soil. The schoolhouse was of the rudest construction. The fireplace was six feet wide and four feet deep, and the chimney flue was "so ample and so perpendicular that the rain, sleet, and snow fell directly to the hearth. In winter the battle for life with green fizzling fuel, which was brought in lengths and cut up by the scholars, was a stern one." Often the fuel, "gushing with sap as it was, chanced to let the fire go out, and as there was no living without fire, the school was dismissed," to the joy of the scholars. The children were all seated on benches made of slabs or "outsides," which were supported by four straddling wooden legs set into auger holes. Somewhat earlier Robert Coram described as wretched the buildings used for schools throughout most of the United States, "sorry hovels, neither wind-tight nor water-tight; a few stools serving in the double capacity of bench and desk, and the old leaves of copybooks making a miserable substitute for glass windows." In most of the schoolhouses of the ante-bellum period the rafters above furnished the boys noble exercise in climbing when the teacher chanced to be absent for a few minutes.

In New York. "The great majority of the schools" of New York State in 1844 were officially described as naked and deformed, in comfortless and dilapidated buildings, with "unhung doors, broken sashes, absent panes, stilted benches, yawning roofs, and muddy mouldering floors." . . . Only one third of the schoolhouses were reported in good repair, another third "in only comfortable circumstances," while more than 3300 "were unfit for the reception of either man

or beast." About 6000 lacked convenient desks or seats, nearly 8000 lacked "any proper facilities for ventilization," and 6000 were destitute of "facilities for securing modesty and decency." Approximately 600,000 children were in "these miserable abodes of filth and dirt."

In Connecticut. In more than seven eighths of all the schoolrooms officially visited in Connecticut in 1841 "the amount of air per child was less than one half that considered necessary for the prisoners in the state prison at Wethersfield or the county jails of Hartford, New Haven, and Norwich." Other conditions of neglect were referred to as a "burning shame and a deep disgrace to the state. It is unworthy of a civilized country, and indicates a state of things that ought to exist only among savages." Only one of forty schoolhouses, found in a survey of one county in 1839, had any means of ventilation, although the average size of "these childpens was eighteen and a half feet long, seven and a half wide, and only seven feet high," and into each "was crowded an average of thirty children." *The Common School Journal* called this condition "the slave-ship stowage of children" and contrasted the schoolhouses with the pens with "promenades," which the enterprising farmers were providing for hogs.

In other New England states. New Hampshire in 1847 made little if any better showing. "Multitudes" of its schoolhouses were described as "absolutely dangerous to health and morals," in the flourishing villages as well as in the countryside. A survey in Rhode Island in 1844 revealed the fact that only 312 of the 405 schools which were supposed to exist under the law of the state could be found, and most of these were in bad condition. Massachusetts did not seriously suffer in this respect by comparison with the other Eastern states, although of twenty-nine "rich and populous towns" which failed in 1838 to maintain schools as required by law only two complied with it in 1839. The schoolhouses

of Maine and Vermont seem to have resembled those in other states. As late as 1857 Vermont had 760 which were described as "bad," "miserable," or "unfit for use."

Conditions slowly changed. If it was "the destiny of New England, and eminently so of New Hampshire, to produce mind" (as the chief school officer of that state complacently claimed in his report for 1847), that privilege of the section of the United States which has always had a pardonable pride in its schools must have been surrendered or adjourned during these years. If the physical conditions which surrounded the education of children there were as bad as they were reported, they were probably no better elsewhere in the ante-bellum period. And only slowly did conditions change for the better. Improvement in school equipment appeared first in the cities, where the most wholesome conditions are now generally found, for in this as in other educational matters the urban places have always taken the lead. The physical conditions of schools improved slowly in the rural areas, and even now some of them are deplorably deficient and dangerous to the health and morals of children. The average value of rural schoolhouses in the Southern states in 1900 was only one hundred dollars. One fifth of all the schoolhouses in North Carolina and Virginia at that time were of logs, and this condition was typical of the entire South. Only 168 of more than 7000 schoolhouses in Virginia in that year had modern provisions for ventilation. In 1914 there were 165 log hovels used as school buildings in North Carolina, which probably had made at that time greater progress in providing modern school equipment than any other of these states. A recent state school survey describes many schoolhouses for white children in a prominent state as dangerous and unfit for use; the drinking water used in a great many of them was found upon examination to be contaminated. Many of the old-fashioned and primitive one-teacher schools still remain — probably

more than 75,000 in 1949, in which there were several million rural children. Illinois in that year led the list with 6678, followed by Iowa with 5637; Missouri with 5272; Wisconsin with 4475; Minnesota with 4421; Kentucky with 3462; Kansas with 3090; and Michigan with 2942.

The teachers. Chapter XII describes in a general way the conditions of teachers and teaching in the early schools: and some of these conditions had not greatly improved by 1860. Moreover, many of the teachers were probably quite at home in the unlovely physical surroundings of the schools they managed, in the later as well as in the earlier period, if the records are to be believed. Most of the teachers were home-grown, with meager preparation, and with almost no professional training, and some of them were positively ignorant. The professional training of teachers was slow to develop, and few teachers were in other respects prepared to give superior instruction. The wages were extremely small. Even in Massachusetts the average wages paid to a woman teacher were "on a level with those paid to the lowest in the mills," reports James Truslow Adams, "and only about one-half those paid to skilled female labor. The average wages, exclusive of board, paid to the women was \$6.49 a month and to men \$23.10," figures which do not vary very much for the other states. In 1838 county school authorities in Ohio complained "of the almost utter incompetency of teachers," and one of them reported that "of 156 examined 53 were very poorly qualified and but 51 understood, 'either wholly or in part,' geography, English grammar, and history. The county was compelled to accept them, else many schools would have been left without teachers." Similar conditions were reported in other sections of the country throughout the ante-bellum period.

Teachers as competent as the times required. However, the teachers were generally as competent as the standards

of the time required, for then as now the average American community had as good teachers as it desired. According to official reports in 1844, many of the "self-styled teachers" lashed and dogmatized in "miserable tenements of humanity" in New York, and were described as "low, vulgar, obscene, intemperate, and utterly incompetent to teach anything good." But this was "the dark side of the picture in that state," as Catherine Esther Beecher reminded the readers of her "Evils Suffered by American Women and Children" (published in 1846), in which the wretched school conditions were described. It was to the credit of the chief school official of that state that he should present the facts in an effort to arouse resentment and a desire for improvement. But if the condition was so bad in New York, which, as Miss Beecher believed, "excels most of the other states in her care of education," "how much worse then must it be in those states where less is attempted!" In her praise of New York for not being "ashamed to search out her defects and publish them, that they may be remedied," she warned the states afflicted with complacency with what they had done against the danger of blindness to their educational needs. Those states which were behind New York "in efforts have a still more fearful reckoning yet to come," wrote Miss Beecher, who, in the light of what has happened in that state and elsewhere, showed the gift of prophecy.

The hard road of learning. Fortunate was the child who could make encouraging progress under such conditions as surrounded most of the schools, though the enterprising children were sometimes able to achieve the alphabet in a single session, as did Samuel C. Goodrich under "Aunt Delight, a maiden lady of fifty, short and bent, of sallow complexion and solemn aspect." Seated on a low chair, she called up the children one by one and required each "to make his manners" by giving a small, sudden nod, as a preliminary to lessons. Then she placed the spelling-book

before the pupil and, with a penknife, pointed to each of the letters of the alphabet, inquiring monotonously "What is that?"

Many were the trials endured by the teachers in the grievous misprints and errors in textbooks, especially the arithmetics, and in those higher schools where Latin was taught the teachers often complained of the errors in the texts. A hard sum which the teachers might tug over for hours often turned out to have the answer wrong. In one case, which is probably typical of this kind of trouble, the teacher talked earnestly about the blunders in a certain book and commended the merits of Pike's "A New and Complete System of Arithmetic," which he had studied and considered the pink of perfection in figures. A copy of the treasure was found and borne by the children in triumph to the teacher. His eyes glistened with delight over the prospect that now the course of arithmetic would run smooth. The children soon learned that they "were still the sport of mischievous printers, and that every hard sum, even in Pike, had the answer wrong." The teachers who claimed proficiency in Latin often insisted upon the use of books which carried an English translation in columns parallel to the text. But they were prudent in their advice that the pupils place their hands over the English when they undertook to translate. This the pupils did if the English were completely memorized; but fingers were slippery when memory failed.

Some typical teachers. J. Marion Sims, the famous surgeon and gynecologist, learned his letters at the age of five and learned to spell in two syllables by the end of his first term, conducted in the summer of 1818 in South Carolina. His teacher was a Scotchman who often flogged the boys very severely "and stood some of them up in the corner with a fool's cap on." His teacher the following year was an Irishman of fifty-five years, tyrannical, a rigid disciplinarian,

and sometimes cruel, who "was badly pock-marked, and had lost an eye by smallpox — otherwise a handsome man." He invariably flogged every boy, whether good or bad, the first day, and with great brutality. In an advertisement of Price's "Thrashing Machine," a school in Alabama somewhat later, Price, the thrasher, in announcing to parents the date of opening, urged them to "send me your devils and incorrigibles and I will make good boys of them." If punishments could work the transformation, Price made good his promises, for he thrashed upon the slightest excuse.

"I spent the winter of 1842 in one of the counties west of the Blue Ridge, and concluded to make up a little school, which was my first attempt in that line," testifies one of the teachers of the period here considered. "In that day a man was regarded as competent to teach school if he could 'read, write, and cipher.' I met with a young man in the neighborhood who aspired to teach also, and he put me through a kind of examination, giving me some of his hard questions, his hardest being a sum in the Double Rule of Three, which I readily worked, and so my reputation was established. I commenced teaching, having scholars ranging from the little tow-headed urchin to the grown-up boy and girl. I had the old-style rules to govern the school, but exercised but little moral influence over it, for the reason that I was not moral enough to do so.

"I will not undertake to give an account of the morals prevailing there at that time, but will note a few incidents, by way of illustration. A little while after the school had gotten under way, among the day scholars there came a full-grown young woman who, after school was dismissed, wished me to go home with her, which I was too bashful to do, but promised to go the next evening, which I did, and found that her whole object in coming to school that one day was to get me to go to her home and write a love-letter for her to her sweetheart, who was a rowdy fellow, and who

was in jail at that time. I wrote the letter as she dictated it, and it certainly was a most gushing affair."

Materials and methods. Immediately after the Revolutionary War many textbooks by Americans began to appear. The patriotic believed that the practice of importing books from England, which had so long and largely supplied the colonies, was very improper, because it involved the hazard of exposing the impressionable children of young democrats to the monarchical ideas and national prejudices of stubborn aristocrats. The result was an increase of books and of the subjects taught in the schools. The increase was slow at first, but by the end of the antebellum period there had been added to the curriculum of reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic the three subjects of grammar, geography, and history, although these were by no means found in all the public schools in 1860—only in the better urban schools. Orthography, good behavior, English language and grammar, and arithmetic had been added by Massachusetts in 1789 to the simple subjects of reading and writing, which had been named in the law in 1647; geography was added in 1826, and United States history three decades later. In 1822 a committee of the Free School Society of New York considered "the propriety of instructing some of the oldest, most orderly, and meritorious" of the children in schools under the direction of the society "in some of the higher branches of an English Education, say Grammar, Geography, History, Mathematics, etc.," and the change was made shortly afterwards. In 1831 Ohio gave cities and towns permission to add other subjects to the three R's, which had been specified in its first school law in 1825, and in 1848 geography and grammar were prescribed for all the schools. The state superintendent of schools in North Carolina recommended in the early fifties that women teachers be examined only in reading, writing, arithmetic, and spelling, but that men teachers be required,

in addition, to take examinations in grammar and geography. These were considered advanced subjects, and county school officers often reported the number of "grammar and geography scholars" in each school. Reading, writing, arithmetic, spelling, grammar, geography, and history represented about all the subjects that typical public schools undertook to teach before the Civil War, and not all of them were so ambitious. Some attention, slight or otherwise, was also given to manners and morals, as the rules of the schools reveal.

Nondescript textbooks. Uniformity of texts was not common before 1860, and one of the evils which naturally resulted was the multiplicity and frequent changes of books, which caused unnecessary expense to parents and guardians. Teachers were often embarrassed by having large schools with nearly every child in a separate class. Those who had a special interest in educational advancement occasionally urged the adoption of uniform texts in an effort to drive out poor books, to prevent frequent and unwise changes, and to aid in developing a form of student classification and grading which was not otherwise possible. Although so-called uniform texts were not officially adopted generally before 1860, occasional "lists" were suggested or recommended by state school authorities.

The "Old Blue Back." The most famous of all spelling texts was Webster's, popularly known as the "Old Blue Back," which was in wide use in the schools of this country until comparatively recent years. This book and scores of other texts which appeared during the ante-bellum period were intended or used not only for the purpose of teaching spelling, but also as primers, readers, moral instructors, and guides. For two decades after its appearance Webster's book bore the high-sounding title of "The First Part of a Grammatical Institute of the English Language." Later the name was changed to "The American Spelling Book," and later still to "The Elementary Spelling Book." Each printer who

published the book varied minor parts of his issue according to his own fancy. one issue carried a portrait of "The Father of his Country," and another bore a woodcut of the author which "made him look like a porcupine." When the first edition was in preparation Webster had to give bond to guarantee the printers against any possible losses; but in 1817 one publisher gave the author "three thousand dollars a year for his term of copyright, and another gave forty thousand for the privilege of publishing editions for fourteen years." At the time of the author's death, in 1842, a million copies of the book were being distributed annually. The book may even now be obtained from one of the prominent American publishers.

The influence of this book is difficult to estimate. Spelling became a fad almost simultaneously with its appearance, and "spelling bees" soon came to be a very popular school exercise. The "Old Blue Back" was generally the first book put into the hands of the child when he entered school, and often it was the only book many children ever studied. The reading lessons in it were intended "to combine, with the familiarity of objects, useful truth, and practical principles." A moral catechism on humility, revenge, industry, sobriety, pride, honesty, and other subjects, and short stories (each with a moral appended) were some of its other features.

Other spellers. Comly's "New Spelling Book," published at Philadelphia in 1806, was also widely used as a



PORTRAIT IN AN EARLY EDITION
OF THE "OLD BLUE BACK"

reader as well as a speller. The reading matter was of a more or less serious nature, which was a characteristic of nearly all schoolbooks of the period. One of the first thoughts which the youth met in this book was "All of us, my son, are to die." Another widely used speller was Hazen's "Symbolical Speller and Definer," which appeared in 1829. The principle on which it was prepared was *Verba explicantur symbolis*, and the work seems to have been intended to supplant certain spellers in which difficult words occurred "before the pupils could acquire sufficient knowledge of letters to read them with facility." The principle of pictorial representation was also used in the book, and connected with each picture were several words which rimed with the name of the object represented. Certain advantages were claimed for this arrangement, since "in learning to spell, the sounds of the letters and the forms of the words are the chief objects of recollection."

Primers and readers. Numerous also were the primers, many of them following the pattern of their illustrious predecessor the New England Primer, which had such a long and active life. "The American Primer," a little book of seventy-five pages, was also popular. The reading lessons which it contained consisted of short stories illustrating obedience, goodness, love, mercy, forgiveness, and fondness for school, for books, and for parents and playmates, much religious verse, and numerous moral tales. This was particularly true of the McGuffey Readers, the most popular of them all. Reading, together with writing and ciphering, occupied the major portion of the curriculum, and almost any printed matter which could be furnished the children served as a textbook on the subject.

The ambition of all readers was to assist young people to read with propriety and effect, to improve their language and their sentiments, "and to inculcate some of the most important principles of piety and virtue." Purity, propriety,

and elegance of diction characterized many of the selections included in the readers. These included narrative selections, didactic pieces, argumentative selections, descriptive selections, pathetic pieces, dialogues, and public speeches suitable for purposes of declamation. "The New York Reader," also popular, contained selections from the Proverbs, the Psalms, Hume's article "On History," select sentences concerning "God and his attributes," the story of Cain and Abel, the story of Job, and Pope's "Universal Prayer." Some of the readers contained instructions on the principles of good reading: the "proper loudness of the voice," distinctness, the due degree of slowness, pronunciation, emphasis, tones, pauses, and the proper manner of reading verse.

Arithmetics. Because of the high esteem in which mathematics was held as a practical science, arithmetic occupied a very important place in the curriculum. In the very early period children received some instruction in the subject upon entering school, in some cases before their fourth birthday. Mental arithmetic was recognized as a separate subject, and in some schools two periods a day were often given to arithmetic from "the third or fourth grade to the eighth, inclusive." An instructor in institutes in New York and Massachusetts said in 1866 that it was the all-absorbing study in the public schools throughout the country, and "occupies more of the time of our children than all other branches united." In this, as in reading, a wide variety of texts were in use. Of these Colburn's "First Lessons in Intellectual Arithmetic," Dilworth's "Schoolmaster's Assistant," and the works of Pike and Jess were used most extensively. Colburn's book, the result of practical work which the author had done as a teacher of mathematics and tested in actual use before publication, possessed a merit not always found in the texts of the time. Barnard's *American Journal of Education* said in 1856 that the book "enjoyed a more enviable success than any other schoolbook

ever published. . . . It has been said to be 'the only faultless schoolbook that we have.' It has certainly wrought a great change in the manner of teaching arithmetic." It was one of the best examples of the early adoption of Pestalozzian methods in this country. Dilworth's text appeared much earlier than Colburn's and went hurriedly through many editions. Two other arithmetics, also very popular, were "A New and Complete System of Arithmetic," by Nicholas Pike, and "The American Tutor's Assistant," by Zachariah Jess.

Pike's book. Pike's work, first published in 1788, was the first book of "its kind composed in America." It was very comprehensive and exhaustive, and although it was too difficult for use in the lower schools, it went through many editions and was very popular and widely used. In 1840 it was reported in use in half the counties of Virginia, and about the same time a book store in Raleigh advertised that a hundred copies had just been received for sale. The comprehensive character of the book appears in the large number of subjects treated in it. A partial list shows, in addition to the usual arithmetic processes, such topics as the extraction of the biquadrate root; pensions in arrears at simple interest, barter, alligation medial; pendulums; a perpetual almanac; the time of the moon's southing; how to find the year of indiction, how to find the value of gold in the currency of New England and of Virginia; a table of values of the sundry pieces in the several states; comparisons of the American foot with the foot of other countries; a table of dominical letters according to the cycle of the sun; how to find the dominical letter according to the Julian and Gregorian methods; a table by which Easter could be calculated from the year 1753 to the year 4199; plane geometry; "plane rectangular trigonometry"; "oblique angular trigonometry"; algebra; conic sections; and "the proportions and tonnage of Noah's ark."

Many of the riddle-like and puzzling exercises reveal the emphasis placed upon the disciplinary values which were then claimed for arithmetic. The following examples serve to illustrate :

How many barleycorns will reach from Newburyport to Boston, it being forty-three miles?

How many days since the commencement of the Christian Era?

How many minutes since the commencement of the American War, which happened on April 19, 1775?

How many seconds since the commencement of the war, April 19, 1775, and the independence of the United States of America, which took place July 4, 1776?

Nine gentlemen sat at an inn, and were so pleased with their host, and with each other, that, in a frolic, they agreed to tarry as long as they, together with their host, could sit every day in a different position; pray how long, had they kept their agreement, would their frolic have lasted?

A gentleman making his addresses in a lady's family, who had five daughters: She told him that their father had made a will, which imported that the first four of the girls' fortunes were together to make £50,000, the last four £66,000, the three last with the first £60,000, the three first with the last £56,000, and the two first with the two last, £64,000, which if he would unravel, and make it appear what each was to have, as he appeared to have a partiality for Harriet, her third daughter, he should be welcome to her: pray, what was Miss Harriet's fortune?

An ignorant fop wanted to purchase an elegant house; a facetious gentleman told him he had one which he would sell him on these moderate terms, viz., that he would give him a penny for the first door, 2 d. for the second, 4 d. for the third, and so on, doubling at every door, which were 36 in all: It is a bargain, cried the simpleton, and here is a guinea to bind it; pray, what would the house have cost him?

Ciphering books and slates. Probably because of the scarcity of texts in the early period the ciphering book was the common method used to teach arithmetic. This was a

blank book made of a quire of paper folded and sewed together, and often crudely bound in cloth or cardboard, similar to account books of the present. Most of the ciphering books were homemade, though children of the well-to-do often had the "store bought" kind. The teacher had his own, which he had himself made when he was learning the science of ciphering, and from it he set sums for his pupils. For each sum was a rule for its solution, and with sums set and rules given, the pupils usually were left to their own initiative and effort, for they received little or no help from the teachers, most of whom had little or none to give. When the pupil had completed the work the answer was shown to the teacher, who compared it with his own. If identical, the work received the teacher's approval, and it and the rule were ordered copied in the pupil's ciphering book; but if not identical, the pupil had to do it all over again.

Before slates came into use the ciphering was done on scraps of paper, often of very coarse quality. "The old gentleman, as usual, took out his manuscript, compared the slate with it, and pronounced it wrong," so a typical record runs. The boy returned to his seat, reviewed his work, and finding no error in his computation, took it again to the teacher, who growled at the boy, compared the work with his own manuscript and finally exclaimed: "See here, you nurly [gnarly] wretch, you have got it 'If four tons of hay cost so much, what will seven tons cost?' when it should be 'If four tons of *English* hay cost so and so.' Now go and do it all over again." "His master sets him a sum in addition," says another description of the method used, "and it may be tells him he must carry one for every ten; but why, is a mystery which neither master nor scholar gives himself any trouble about; however, with a deal of pains, he at length gets his sum done, without ever being asked, or knowing how to read the sum total, or any number expressed in the statement.

"But it is ciphering, and that is sufficient. If he is taught to commit any of the rules to memory, he learns them like a parrot, without any knowledge of their reason, or application. After this manner he gropes along from rule to rule, till he ends his blind career with the rule of three; and in the end, the only and truest account he can give of the whole is, that he has been over it. But he has completed his school education, and is well qualified to teach a school himself the next winter after."

Not much knowledge or skill in the subject was expected of teachers in those days. "I shall not forget," said a teacher referring to his first experience with an examination (which the law required to be conducted by the three county commissioners instead of the township trustees) to test the fitness of candidates to teach. The only question asked him was What is the product of 25 cents by 25 cents? "We had only Pike's arithmetic, which gave the sums and the rules," but such a problem could not be found in the book. "The examiner thought it was $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents, but was not sure. I thought just as he did, but this looked too small to both of us. We discussed its merits for an hour or more, when he decided that he was sure I was qualified to teach school, and a first-class certificate was given me." The records reveal other evidence of the low standards of the time.

Grammars. Grammar was not generally required in the ante-bellum schools; the teachers were not examined on it, and the subject was therefore not widely taught. Textbooks on grammar did not, like geographies and histories, serve well as readers, and for this reason the subject was somewhat late in finding a place in the curriculum. The early texts were unduly intricate and difficult to explain or to understand, and the subject was regarded as meaningless and dreary. The prefaces of many of the early works were often apologetic and deplored the general lack of interest in the subject.

"The Father of English grammar." Lindley Murray, who is known as the "Father of English grammar," published his first book on grammar in 1795. It became popular immediately not only in England but in America, where (especially in the higher schools) it was so extensively circulated that Murray's name soon came to be a household word. Although it was a work of considerable merit for the time the book was severely criticized "for its obscurity, blunders, and deficient presentation of etymology." One of Murray's friends said to him, "Of all the contrivances invented for puzzling the brain of the young, your grammar is the worst." Later, however, Murray's "Grammar," "Exercises," and "Key" came to be regarded as standard texts, and they maintained that position for many years. The book went through fifty editions, and an abridgment of the original work had more than a hundred and twenty editions of ten thousand copies each. The primary purpose of this work was to teach the correct use of spoken and written language and to assist the more advanced pupils "to write with perspicuity and accuracy." But another purpose of the book, as of many grammars of the period, was to furnish moral instruction, which was sought through examples of principles and rules and exercises under them.

Kirkman's book. Kirkman's "English Grammar" followed Murray's very closely in plan, but avoided some of the errors which the latter work contained. Its illustrations were apt and lent themselves to clearness and comprehension of the principles illustrated. The book sought to be "of practical utility in facilitating" the mental progress of youth, but it presented no attractive graces of style to charm, no "daring flights" to astonish, and no deep researches to gratify the literary connoisseur. It undertook, on the other hand, to make interesting and delightful a study which was regarded as tedious, dry, and irksome. In "Hints to teachers and private learners" the author said that he hoped to

help abolish the absurd practice of causing learners to commit and recite definitions and rules "without any simultaneous application of them to practical examples." The final instructions to the young learner were: "Become learned and virtuous, and you will be great. Love God and serve him, and you will be happy."

Methods in grammar. In the main the book sought to teach the pupils what they should not say rather than what they should say in speaking and writing. In one column appeared the "improper" words, and in another the "correct" words, thus:

aint	are not
haint	have not
taint	'tis not
baint	are not
maint	may not
waunt	was not
woodent	would not
mussent	must not
izzent	is not
wozzent	was not
hezzent	has not
doozzent	does not
tizzent	'tis not
whool	who will

Among the numerous provincialisms and vulgarisms which Kirkman said were common in the spoken language in New England and New York were the following:

I be goin. He lives to hum.	I am going. He lives at home.
Hese been to hum this two weeks.	He has been at home these two weeks.
You haddent ought to do it.	You ought not to do it.
Yes I had ought.	Certainly I ought.
Taint no better than hizzen.	'Tis no better than his.
Izzent that are line writ well?	Is not that line well written?

The following errors were reported as common in Pennsylvania :

I seen him. Have you saw him? Yest, I have saw him wunst, and that was before you seed him. I done my task. Have you did yours? No, but I be to do it. I be to be there He know'd me. Leave me be, for Ime afear'd. I wish I haddent did it, howsumever, I don't keer; they cant skeer me Give me them there books He ort to go; so he ort. I diddent go to do it Don't scrouge me. I know'd what he meant, but I never let on.

The following expressions were mentioned, with their corrections, as belonging to Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Mississippi :

Tote the wood to the river. Have you focht the water? Carry the horse to water. He has run aginst a snag. Is that your plunder, stranger? I war thar, and I seen his boat was loaded too heavy. Whar you gwine? Hese in cahoot with me. Did you get shet of your tobacco? Who hoped you sell it?

Teachers deficient in grammar. "Grammar has been attended to very indifferently, in our town schools, for all past time," reported the committee of Provincetown, Massachusetts, in 1843, although the law of the state required the teaching of the subject. "There are but few scholars who study it at all, and few indeed who have made much proficiency in it." And in the same year the school officials of Westport reported that as there were some schools in which grammar had never been taught, and "few or none who wish to pursue it . . . for these reasons the committee has been urged to grant certificates to teachers deficient in grammar," although over in New Hampshire a county official in 1839 believed that "a portion of the time now devoted to grammar and arithmetic ought to be spent in the proper study of mankind." Clerks of county examiners in Ohio about the same time complained of the incompetency of teachers in grammar, geography, and history. A

decade later conditions had improved somewhat, although complaint was still made and continued to be made for several years.

A large number of texts in grammar were sold annually about the middle of the nineteenth century, but they were used generally in schools of the "larger and more prosperous towns, and at best only in a perfunctory way in the schools of smaller communities." During the first half-century of the national period the rote method of teaching largely dominated, attention being given to memorizing, to the correction of false syntax, and to parsing — practices transferred from those customary in the study of Latin grammar. During the next quarter of a century these traditional methods still prevailed, but efforts were made to make the children understand the subject, to use visual and oral instruction, and to give some practice in composition. A large number of the schools provided no opportunity for composition, because "not one teacher in ten can write with tolerable ease and correctness," said William B. Fowle, in an editorial in the *Massachusetts Common School Journal* in 1852. In an institute in that state two years before "we required 117 teachers to write what they could in fifteen minutes on 'happiness.' At the end of fifteen minutes, but seven teachers had done anything, and four of these had requested to be excused from writing. Three more periods of fifteen minutes were given, and only twenty teachers had been able to write anything in the end. How can such teachers give instruction in English Grammar?" he asked. Meantime, however, changes both in the conception of the purpose of grammar and in the methods of teaching it were being made slowly. The change in theory is illustrated in statements made in 1823 and in 1847. At the earlier date Gould Brown said of his text, "The book itself will make anyone a grammarian." He maintained that "the only successful method of teaching grammar is to cause the

principal definitions and rules to be committed thoroughly to memory." In 1847 Samuel S. Greene, also the author of a text on the subject, held that "the only successful method of obtaining a knowledge of the art is by means of construction and analysis." But many years were to pass before grammar was to be humanized, many pedagogical wars waging in the meantime over the subject.

History. History also found a late place in the elementary school, largely because the higher institutions were tardy in recognizing its value in the course of study. Before 1850 instruction in the subject was provided in the colleges in connection with other subjects, usually philosophy and English. Its value as a means of furnishing a broad interpretation of the world was not recognized, nor was it believed that history was capable of making direct appeal to human interests, to curiosity, to the imagination, of developing enlightened patriotism, or of strengthening intellectual habits. Many of the early texts contained neither maps nor illustrations, and the methods of teaching history, the function of which was conceived as ethical and religious, were often unsound for such purposes.

Although some cities had included the subject in their courses of study earlier, history was not generally taught before the Civil War. The numerous texts on the subject before that date indicate, however, that it was used, though perhaps largely for practice in reading. One history of the United States and three of New England had appeared by 1821, and during the next decade eleven histories of the United States and three state histories had been published. Most of these and subsequent texts were often in merest outline, a plan which characterized many of the texts on the subject until near the close of the nineteenth century. Moreover, teachers were poorly prepared to give instruction in the subject, which must have been only imperfectly understood by the children.

Early texts in history. The preface to one of the earliest texts stated that "while our schools abound with a variety of reading-books for children and youth, there has never yet appeared a compendious history of the United States fitted for our common schools." In 1828 Goodrich's (Peter Parley) "History of the United States" appeared, and although this text was popular and widely circulated, it too was deficient in illustrative material and continued so until 1832, although numerous editions of the work appeared in the meantime. In that year an improvement was made in the book. In the same year Noah Webster published a "History of the United States," in which he discussed, among other things, "our English ancestry from the dispersion at Babel, to their migration to America." The work did not extend beyond the adoption of the Federal Constitution, however, because "an impartial history cannot be published during the lives of the principal persons concerned in the transactions related, without being exposed to the charge of undue flattery or censure; and unless history is impartial, it misleads the student, and frustrates its proper object."

A chapter on "Advice to the Young," intended to "serve, in a degree, to restrain some of the common vices of our country," showed the moral purpose of the subject.

Geography. Geography slowly acquired a high position in the courses of study. It had received little attention in the public schools of New England before the second quarter of the nineteenth century, even the higher schools there and



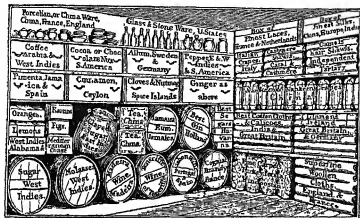
THE FIRST AMERICAN
GEOGRAPHY¹

¹From Clifton Johnson's "Old Time Schools and School Books." (The Macmillan Company.)

elsewhere neglecting the subject until far into the century. When it first appeared in the lower schools it was not treated as a separate subject, nor was it intended to furnish a knowledge of world movements, of current events, or of the economic and commercial relations of man. The early texts were encyclopedic in character, and the dictionary type of information which they contained was used largely as memory exercises. The books also served as readers and histories rather than as means of learning about the earth as the home of man. There is evidence also that the early geography texts were intended to furnish moral instruction. If ministers seem to have been more numerous than others as authors of the early texts the explanation is probably to be found less in the fact that they were among the best-informed classes than in the fact that theology and geology must not clash. The Mosaic explanation of the origin of the world was accepted by most first-rate people.

Morse's text. The pioneer text on geography was by Jedidiah Morse. It appeared first in 1784, and a few years later appeared his "American Universal Geography," which claimed to be "a view of the present state of all the empires, kingdoms, states, and republics in the known world, and of the United States in particular." Several revised editions were issued, and by 1800 the book contained about fifteen hundred pages. In his introduction to an edition of 1793 Morse commends an English text, Guthrie's "Geographical Grammar." This book stood high in the estimation of Americans, among whom it had had a wide circulation. However, Morse thought its deficient and false descriptions of the United States and its disproportionate accounts of Great Britain were capital faults, and that the American youth should be protected from such books. "There is no science better adapted to the capacities of youth, and more apt to captivate their attention than geography," declares Morse, who deplores the neglect of this part of their educa-

tion, and "the want of suitable books on the subject has been the cause." With this lament he found (as have scores of textbook-writers since his day) excuses enough for another book on the important subject, and "in the following sheets" he endeavored to bring the important "branch of knowledge home to the common schools, and to the cottage firesides," to accommodate it to school use as a reading book.



FRONTISPIECE OF WILLARD'S GEOGRAPHY FOR BEGINNERS (1826)

Exhibiting the products of various countries

"that our youth of both sexes, at the same time that they are learning to read, might imbibe an acquaintance with their country, and an attachment to its interests."

But the material in the sheets which followed was an unorganized mass of statements, many of them inaccurate and otherwise subject to some of the criticisms Morse had made of Guthrie. "These geographical treatises," said a contemporary critic, discussing the books of the time, "form a mere aggregation and index of rich materials, a lexicon rather than a true textbook. And therefore ensues, despite the undenied interest of the subject and its high claims, the mechanical and unfruitful method only too common—

the crowding of the memory without judgment, without thought." And this remained the type of geography used in the schools until the influence of the German geographer Karl Ritter (1779-1859) made its way into this country and helped to make Pestalozzian principles known. True, Jesse Olney published in 1828 his "Geography and Atlas," which passed through many editions, some of which numbered eighty thousand copies. Olney was one of the first teachers in this country to adopt Pestalozzi's principles in the teaching of geography. He helped to initiate the idea of home geography and recommended the use of maps, pictures, diagrams, and atlas, and the importance of introducing the beginner to "the town in which he lives."

Peter Parley's texts. Attempts to make geography interesting to children were made by Peter Parley (Samuel G. Goodrich), who used geographical rimes in his books. Another feature of his "Method of Telling about Geography to Children," which appeared in 1829, was its moral and religious character. "The flood, or deluge," he says, "took place about 1650 years after the world was created; that was more than 4000 years ago. The history of the Jews, which is related in the Old Testament, is continued from the time of Noah to the birth of our Saviour, which was 1829 years ago. The history is exceedingly interesting, and perfectly true. The early history of almost all other nations is a great part of it false; but the Bible tells us nothing but what is worthy of belief." Another chapter told of the birth of Christ. "Let us never, never, forget to hold in deep reverence the name of the one who has been such a benefactor to the world." And the final sentences in the concluding chapter were: "Let us fear to do wrong, because God can punish us. Let us love to do right, because God will reward us."

New and improved methods of writing and teaching geography were slowly becoming known in the United States

by the close of the ante-bellum period through reports of travelers to Europe. Later these methods were made increasingly popular through the work of Arnold Guyot, the Swiss who had studied under Ritter, who came to Massachusetts in 1848 and served until 1854 as inspector and institute lecturer for the Board of Education of that state, and who in the latter year became professor of geology and physical geography at Princeton; and of Colonel F. W. Parker, whose effective educational services in Massachusetts and Illinois were very conspicuous during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Geographical jingles. An interesting feature of instruction in geography was the practice of singing out facts, the names of the states and their capitals, and the names of the rivers on which these were located, chanted generally "with no change in the words, but with a rising inflection at the end of the first line, and falling at the end of the second." The numerous variations improvised on this form sometimes revealed "the inventiveness of teachers or others musically or poetically endowed." There is some evidence that the alphabet and the multiplication tables were some times sung, and occasionally, "if the teacher wanted to air the room, we would all march up and down the aisles singing (to the tune of Yankee Doodle) 'five times five is twenty five and five times six is thirty'; and so on up."

This old method was used far beyond the ante-bellum period and in some states even until the nineties or perhaps later. In his "Method of Telling about Geography to Children," Peter Parley had made use of rimes which were to be repeated by the pupils. One of them began :

The world is round, and like a ball
Seems swinging in the air,
A sky extends around it all,
And stars are shining there.

And after listing many matters treated in the subject :

And now geography doth tell,
Of these full many a story,
And if you learn your lesson well,
I'll set them all before you.

A text of 1851 contained a song about the various states, somewhat different from the chants which became so popular ; it gave details of climate, population, products, or any peculiar characteristics, and was to be sung to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne," according to Mark Sullivan, who has reported in "Our Times" (Vol. II, chap. iv) many examples of geography as it was chanted. The same textbook offered compilations of other geographical information, which were arranged in verse and adapted to popular tunes of the time.

Examples of the method, which the children enjoyed, and which was believed to be an aid to memory, included :

Maine, Augusta, on the Kennebec.
New Hampshire, Concord, on the Merrimac.

Vermont, Montpelier, Montpelier, Montpelier,
Vermont, Montpelier, the capital Montpelier.

Massachusetts, so they say,
Has Boston East upon its bay.

New Jersey, with its fruits so fair,
Has Trenton on the Delaware.

New York, so they say,
Has on the Hudson, Albany.

Delaware, Dover, on Jones's Creek, Sir!

North Carolina, famous for tar and turpentine and gold,
Its capital is Raleigh, by River Neuse controlled.

California, Sacramento (la-si-la-sol-la-si-do),
And this comprises all, sir (la-si-do-si-re-do-do).

State of Maine, Augusta,
Tol-le, rol-le, rol-le.
New Hampshire, Concord,
Tol-le, rol-le, rol-le.

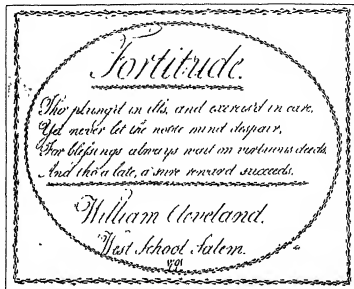
Now the peninsulas we sing,
Alaska leads the rimc.
Then Melville, Nova Scotia,
A-comes, all in the Northern clime.
In Southern regions, Florida,
With Yucatan, we meet,
Then California follows next,
To make the list complete.

So round and round each bay and sound,
Each mountain, cape, and river,
So round and round the world we bound
In concert all together.

Writing. Perhaps the only fine art taught in the typical public schools in the period here considered was handwriting, and courthouses today contain interesting evidence of the success of the instruction. The superior handwriting in which deeds and wills of the period were often copied arouses admiration in this day when documents, public and now increasingly private, are done by typewriter. But in the early days school children were encouraged "in the pursuit of the useful and elegant accomplishment of writing," and the teacher who could write a copperplate hand and flourish angles and corkscrews, even while balancing himself on one leg, had standing to speak of in the neighborhood and was as much in favor as a celebrity in ciphering who knew his tare and tret.

In the days when the children wrote from copies in the teacher's handwriting, much of his time was consumed in setting copies and in making or mending quill pens, although in some city schools twelve-year-old children were expected to know how to make their own. The practice of setting

copies with pens or on slates was not uncommon in rural schools until near the close of the nineteenth century. With the introduction of copy slips (the first American set was probably Caleb Bingham's, published in 1796) the teaching of writing consumed less of the teacher's time. When blackboards came in (probably as early as 1809, although they



EXHIBITION PIECE OF A STUDENT'S WRITING

Courtesy of the Essex Institute

were not in common use until much later), one copy could be set for a number of pupils, who counterfeited it as best they could. The copies were usually statements of moral sentiment, such as "Aim at perfection," "Honesty is the best policy," "Waste not, want not." Old schoolbooks also testify to an interesting by-product of the practice: by way of relaxation from the assigned tasks in writing the children often ornamented their books with many scribbings.

Motivation in writing. The ambition to write well seems to have been strong in the common schools as well as in the private schools, where it was especially encouraged. The orator at the first commencement of Henry Dean's Writing School in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1804, after speaking at length to the parents, praised the girls, who were permitted to attend the summer session, for the exhibit of their improvement in writing, and extolled the art as one "of remote antiquity, highly ornamental, and of the most extensive utility. By this art all others are preserved, disseminated, and perpetuated. . . . So great and manifold are the advantages derived from it, that many wise and good men have concluded that it was not of human but divine origin." This ambition to write well was sustained also by rigid discipline. The danger of slips, blunders, blotches, and mistakes in spelling and marking was increased by the manner of keeping the ink. Before the days of patent desks and inkwells the ink was kept in small bottles, which were easily upset. Often, with the stoppers lost, the children put in cotton, not infrequently enough to absorb the ink, which had to be squeezed out. A mark or a sprawl consequent upon a fragment of cotton sticking to the pen was for many children a sad experience.

The slave states and textbooks. Many years before the close of the ante-bellum period, as the agitation over slavery became heated, more and more complaints were heard in the South against books which had been prepared and published in the North. The complaints were loudest against the books used as readers. As early as January, 1844, the *Southern Educational Journal*, one of the first educational magazines published in Alabama, advertised a series of readers which "have been carefully revised and freed from all objectionable pieces." The objection to the readers then in use was that they were "made by people whose political institutions differ from ours, and thrown upon the children of

the South." At a meeting of the Southern Commercial Convention, held in Savannah in December, 1856, and composed of delegates from the Southern and Southwestern states, a committee was requested to take the subject of schoolbooks under consideration and to select and prepare a suitable series of books in "every department of study, from the earliest primer to the highest grade of literature and science, as shall seem to them best qualified to elevate and purify the education of the South." In this action appeared evidence of the growing sectionalism of the period. "We can, and we must print, publish, and teach our own books; we must not permit our foes to compose our songs and prepare our nursery tales, reserving for ourselves only the privilege of framing husky statutes, and holding commercial conventions." From that time until the outbreak of the Civil War efforts were increased in the South to prepare the texts used in that section and to encourage Southern publishing enterprises.

Confederate texts. During the war the Southern states undertook to supply their own school textbook needs, and many of the books published in that section bore such sectional titles as "The Confederate Primer," "Dixie Primer," "The Confederate Ryming Primer," "The Southern Primer," "The Confederate Speller," "The Dixie Speller," "The Dixie Reader," "The Southern Confederacy Arithmetic," and "The Geographical Reader for the Dixie Children." There were also grammars, books on foreign languages, dictionaries, catechisms, and hymnbooks, and a "Confederate edition of the New Testament." Extracts from a primary geography arranged as a reading book for the common schools and published in Raleigh in 1864, illustrate the temper of the time. Under the caption "The United States" the children were taught this:

This was once the most prosperous country in the world. . . . In the meantime both English and American ships sent to Africa and brought away many of those poor heathen negroes and sold

them for slaves. Some people said it was wrong and asked the King of England to stop it. He replied that "he knew it was wrong; but that slave trade brought much money into his treasury, and it should continue." But both countries afterwards did pass laws to stop this trade. In a few years the Northern States, finding their climate too cold for the negro to be profitable, sold them to the people living farther south. Then the Northern States passed laws to forbid any person owning slaves in their borders.

Then the Northern people began to preach, to lecture, and to write about the sin of slavery. The money for which they had sold their slaves was now partly spent in trying to persuade the Southern States to send their slaves back to Africa. And when the Territories were settled they were not willing for any of them to become slaveholding. . . .

In the year 1860 the Abolitionists became strong enough to elect one of their men for President. . . . So the Southern States seceded. . . .

This country possesses many ships, has fine cities and towns, many railroads, steamboats, canals, manufactures, etc. The people are ingenious and enterprising, and are noted for their tact in "driving a bargain." They are refined and intelligent on all subjects but that of negro slavery; on this they are mad."

Under the title "Southern Confederacy," the children were taught this:

This is a great country! The Yankees thought to starve us out when they sent their ships to guard our seaport towns. But we have learned to make many things; to do without others. . . . The Southern people are noted for being high-minded and courteous.

The following questions and answers were intended to serve as a review of the reading selections in the book:

Q. What kind of men should we elect to govern our country?

A. Good and wise men.

Q. Why?

A. "When the righteous are in authority, the people rejoice; but when the wicked beareth rule, the people mourn."

Q. Where do you learn this?

A. From the Bible

Q. Will God curse a nation because of wicked rulers?

A. He says he will

Q. Has the Confederate States any commerce?

A. A fine inland commerce, and bids fair, sometime, to have a grand commerce on the high seas

Q. What is the present drawback to our trade?

A. An unlawful Blockade by the miserable and hellish Yankee Nation.

Discipline and rules. The rigidity of discipline, evident in the numerous rules which were considered so indispensable for even the smallest schools, reflect the prevailing theories of the period. They were established upon a theology and a penal code little less severe and brutal than men had lived and died under in earlier days. Most of these rules require no comment nor explanation, so clearly do they speak for themselves. Those in a school in one of the Southern states included the following :

The punishment shall consist of whipping, slapping in the hand with the rule, riding the ass, and expulsion, according to the gravity of the offense.

All boys and girls may laugh, without noise, when anyone is mounted on the ass, but no one shall speak to him, or make gestures or ugly mouths at him, in token of derision.

When the master tells an anecdote the students are not bound to laugh immoderately, though it will be considered respectful to give some indication of their being pleased or amused.

Whenever one enters or leaves the house, if a boy he shall bow, and if a girl courtesy, to the master, and when a stranger comes in all shall rise and do the same toward him.

When the boys meet a stranger on the road they must take off their hats and bow: they are enjoined to be, on all occasions, respectful and attentive to their seniors and not to talk in their presence except when bidden.

Every boy shall consult the comfort and convenience of the

girls before his own, and whoever is caught standing between a female and the fire shall be whipped.

If a boy is caught laughing at the homeliness of a girl or calling her ugly names, he shall ride on the ass.

Giggles are detestable, and when a girl is amused she must smile gracefully, or laugh out ; and if the master catches anyone sniggering he will indicate and reprimand her in the presence of the whole school.

Every offender, when called on, must fully inform on himself, remembering that by telling the truth he palliates his offense.

When the master's rule falls at the feet of anyone, he and all his guilty associates must come with it to the teacher.

The master will inflict on every common informer the punishment due to the offense of which he maliciously gives information.

As it is God who gives the mind, and as he has bestowed more on some than on others, it shall be considered a grave offense to laugh at or ridicule anyone who is by nature dull or stupid, such persons being entitled to general commiseration rather than contempt.

The girls must remember that the exemptions to which their sex entitles them are to be used as a shield, and not as a sword ; and they are therefore enjoined to eschew the abominable and unlady-like habit of indulging in sarcasm and attempted wit at the expense of the boys. Whenever a girl loses the docility, gentleness, and benignity becoming her sex, she forfeits her title to the forbearance and deferential courtesy of the males.

No one shall, out of school, speak disrespectfully of the master or of a fellow student.

No one shall ridicule, laugh at, or make remarks about the dress of another ; the boys are enjoined to be kind and courteous to the girls, the girls to be neat and cleanly in their dresses, and all to act as if they were brothers and sisters — the children of the same parents.

Let the words of the preacher be held in constant remembrance, "Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth."

The punishment of riding on the ass was generally inflicted for long-continued and gross neglect of study, vulgarity of

manners, and insults to girls. The culprit, wearing a large pair of leather spectacles on his nose and a paper cap on his head with the inscription "Fool's Cap" in Roman letters, was mounted astraddle one of the joists, being assisted up by a few cuts of the master's switch, which sometimes played at intervals across his legs during the hour that he held his seat. This punishment was inflicted only on the male pupils.

Another set of rules, signed by the teacher and carefully learned by the children, prescribed the punishments for each infraction. The rules are reproduced here exactly as the teacher wrote and numbered them in 1848:

No.	LASHES
1. Boys & Girls Playing Together	4
2. Quareling	4
3. Fighting	5
4. Fighting at School	5
5. Quareling at School	3
6. Gambleing or Beting at School	4
7. Playing at Cards at School	10
8. Climbing for Every foot Over three feet up a tree	1
9. Telling Lyes	7
10. Telling Tales Out of School	8
11. Nick Naming Each Other	4
12. Giving Each Other Ill Names	3
13. Fighting Each Other in time of Books	2
14. Swaring at School	8
15. Blackgarding Each Other	6
16. For Misbehaving to Girls	10
17. For leaving School Without Leave of the Teacher	4
18. Going Home with each other without Leave of the Teacher	4
19. For Drinking Spirituous Liquors at School	8
20. Making Swings & Swinging on Them	7
21. For Misbehaving when a Stranger is in the House	6
22. For waring Long Finger Nails	2
23. For Not Making a bow when a Stranger Comes in or goes out	3
24. Misbehaving to Persons on the Road	4
25. For Not Making a bow when you Meet a Person	4
26. For Going to Girls Play Places	3
27. Girles Going to Boys Play Places	2

No.	LAUREN
28. Coming to School with Dirty face and Hands	2
29. For Caling Each Other Liars	4
30. For Playing Bandy	10
31. For Blotting Your Copy Book	2
32. For Not making a bow when you go home or when you come away	4
33. Wrestling at School	4
34. Scuffling at School	4
35. For Not Making a bow when going out to go home	2
36. For Wetting Each other Washing at Play time	2
37. Girls Going to Boys Play Places	2
38. For Hollowing & Hooping Going Home	3
39. For Delaying Time Going home or Coming to School	4
40. For Not making a bow when you Come in or go Out	2
41. For Throwing Any Thing Harder then your trah ball	4
42. For Every word you mis In your Hart Leson without good Excuse	1
43. For Not Saying yes Sir & no Sir or yes marn or no marn	2
44. For Troubleing Each others Wnting affares	2
45. For Not washing at playtime when going to Books	4
46. For Going & Play, about the Mill or Creek	6
47. For Going about the Barn or doing Any Mischief about the Place	7

The following rules of a school in an Eastern state indicate that it was under the control of the Society of Friends, and the ninth rule in the list reflects an effort to inculcate in the young a humaneness that seems not to have been common at the time :

1. The scholars are to be at school at the hour appointed with their faces and hands washed and their heads combed.

2. They are with cheerfulness and attention to observe the instructions of the Tutors, and always pay them due respect.

3. They are to study their lessons in silence, and to avoid unnecessary conversation with each other in school time.

4. They are to behave themselves at all times in a gentle obliging manner, becoming virtuous children. The boys to treat the girls with that manly respect and decency which is due to their sex ; and the girls the boys with a becoming reserve and modesty.

5. If disputes at any time arise among them, they are not to use provoking words or blows, or give way to a sullen or revengeful temper, but report the matter to be decided by the Master

6. They are carefully to observe true grammar, plainness of speech in using the singular number to a single person, and in every other respect avoid such additions in their address to others as are inconsistent with truth

7. And in regard to their conduct when out of School, it is desired that the scholars may duly attend our religious meetings and when there behave with stillness and sobriety.

8. That they do not spend their time on first days in sports or any way that tends to disturbance.

9. That they carefully avoid speaking evil of anyone, treating aged persons with disrespect, making a mock of the lame, deformed, or those deprived of their senses.

10. That they do not throw sticks, stones, dirt, or snowballs at any person or dumb creature; but behave themselves modestly, civilly and kindly to all.

11. That they avoid such amusements as are noisy, dirty, or dangerous, and all such as arise from a covetousness of each others property.

12. That they not only shun all indecent behavior in themselves, but the pernicious conversation of others, especially the shameful and exceedingly sinful practices of lying and swearing.

Rules for the government "of the common school in District No. 47," in Stanly County, North Carolina, less than three years before that state joined the Confederacy, follow exactly as they were signed by J. F. Stone, the teacher, after they had been "read, approved and adopted."

Art. 1st Each scholar will present him or herself at school with face and hands clean, and hair combed.

Art. 2d When they arrive at school they will take their books and seats, and be studying their lessons, whether their teacher arrived or not.

Art. 3d In book time they will not laugh or talk, but mind their books, and study their lessons.

- Art. 4th No scholar will be allowed to go out more than once for each lesson they recite (unless in cases of extreme necessity) the males one at a time, the females not more than two at a time
- Art. 5th At play time the males and females will not associate with each other in any play or pastime.
- Art. 6th At all times and on all occasions they will avoid cursing and swearing, lying, stealing, quarelling, fighting, wrestling, climbing trees, throwing rocks at random, or using any vulgar or profane language such as liar, fool, etc.
- Art. 7th Telling tales out of school without first acquainting the teacher with what may take place or happen, is out of order and should be avoided.
- Art. 8th Going home with each other of evenings without the permission of parents and teacher will be a violation of the rules of school.
- Art. 9th Private property is sacred to the owner; therefore any encroachment on the enclosure of any citizen will be a violation of social order and the rules of this school
- Art. 10th In going to and from school the several scholars are required to keep the strictest rules of order, and not be whooping, hallowing, and playing by the way, as bad children frequently do.
- Art. 11th Should one of your parents or other persons visit the school, as they enter the door you will rise from your seats to do them honor.
- Art. 12th Any grown scholar who will not submit to the above rules and refuse to be corrected for a violation of the same, will be expelled from the school.

Few evidences of gentleness. Not often does the student find evidences of gentleness in ante-bellum educational practices. Reforms in school discipline were to come much later. Apparently also little effort was made to adapt the work of the school to the varying capacities of the children. However, "the happy medium in the education of children is not to overburden them, nor leave them at liberty to be idle," suggested a writer in New Jersey before the end of the

eighteenth century, in hints which were "only speculative," because he had never had "an opportunity of reducing them to practice." But he believed that something could be done to make the work of the school "less difficult" and "more agreeable" for the children. If they are overburdened "they will despair and dislike their studies," he said, and if they are left in idleness they are "apt to meditate and do mischief and disturb the school." Among other things he suggested that the children be divided into classes, "also to read according to their different abilities, that each may be a help to the others, and their equality be a stimulus to extol." Two of the eight suggestions which he made for the management of a school are suggestive in this connection :

Every regulation should be well considered and approved before it is proposed to the children and then an implicit observance should mildly be exacted, and in every part of the government of the school it is necessary for the children to obey with punctuality, which if kindly but firmly required will become habitual and easy to them, and its good aspects in the stillness and decorum of the school be manifest to all

In order to give the master time to examine the cyphrous works, mend pens, inspect the copies literally as they are wrote, for which end he should have them brought to him every two lines, attend minutely to the children's reading, and to every other part of good order, with as little interruption as possible, it will be best to have the cyphering and copy books left at the master's desk every evening, that he may set the sums, rule and set the copies for the next day or lay out the pieces for them; this, though it will employ some time between evening and morning school, will make his task much more easy in school hours, prevent the confusion incident to the master being hurried there, and will assist him to that calmness and leisure absolutely necessary for the tight oversight of a school and improvement of the pupils.

Turning out the teacher: boarding around. "Nothing out the bulldog" in resolute teachers could keep down rising

storms toward the end of term time or as holidays approached, as Edward Eggleston so accurately shows in "The Hoosier Schoolmaster"; for in Indiana as elsewhere in the early days, and in some of the more pioneer places until after the Civil War, the boys "turned out" the teacher if he had not granted the customary holidays, which were generally deducted from his time. Many schools were broken up in this manner by big and burly boys, even in sedate Massachusetts and even as late as 1837. In Eggleston's classic example the struggle for the mastery in Indiana was between the teacher, who had intended to grant a holiday if he was asked to do so, and Hank Banta, "the ringleader in the disaffection," who had managed to draw into it "the surly Bud," who was in favor of making the request before resorting to the extreme measure of barring the teacher out of the schoolhouse.

As the Christmas holidays began to draw near in a North Carolina school in the forties, it was talked around that the usual custom of turning out the schoolmaster was to be observed. When the crisis came he gave in and accepted the terms decided on — a treat of half a gallon of brandy for an eggnog, for his views on the liquor question were not so decided as were those of some of his successors in that state in after years. But the eggnog was described as a failure, because the eggs could not be had; but the brandy and the milk were put into a kettle and put on the fire, "and a kind of a stew was made that couldn't exactly be named, and it was thus dealt out to the crowd."

Another case, settled in a very different manner in South Carolina a little earlier, was witnessed by J. Marion Sims and reported in "The Story of My Life":

The first quarter of Mr. Quigley's school was about to terminate, and the big boys agreed to turn him out and make him treat before the beginning of the second quarter. It was the teacher's habit, every day, to take a walk of fifteen or twenty minutes, about

eleven o'clock in the morning, calling to his desk some of the larger boys to keep order during his absence. No sooner had he descended the foot of the hill leading toward the spring than the three larger boys in the school began barricading the door. There was only one door to the cabin, and by taking up the benches, which were ten or fifteen feet long, and crossing them diagonally, one to the right and another to the left, in the door, the benches projecting as much outside as inside the house, a complete barricade was formed which could easily be defended against assault from without. When the old gentleman saw what had been done he became perfectly furious. He was so violent that he easily intimidated the ringleaders. He swore that he would not give up, and would not treat, and that he was coming into the house whether or no. At last he commenced to climb on the roof of the house, and to throw a part of it off. It was covered with boards held on by poles. The ringleaders, seeing that he was sure to effect an entrance anyway, became intimidated, and agreed to remove the barricade if he would promise not to whip them. After parleying a little while, he promised that he would not flog the ringleaders. He was a man of most violent temper, and, although fifty-five years of age, he was very strong and active. The ringleader of the gang was young Bob Stafford. He was tall, slender, and very strong; but was evidently afraid of the teacher, and showed the white feather decidedly. As Mr. Quigley came in he walked up to young Stafford, who stood trembling in the middle of the room, and said: "Sir," as he drew his big fist back, "I have a great mind to run my fist through your body!" I had always thought Mr. Quigley would do whatever he said, expecting every minute to see the old gentleman's fist come out through his back.

The practice of boarding the teacher around among the homes of his pupils was noted in Chapter IX as one means used by the neighborhood to help toward paying for his services. The custom was common in the rural district schools until the Civil War, in some sections of the country until much later, and even as recently as 1930 was followed among some of the negro schools in the South. Under the

arrangement some teachers fared better than others, but there is evidence that many of them were luckless.

It can be seen from the material in this chapter that the educational standards of the first half of the nineteenth century were low in the United States, as were also the standards of life in general. These low standards appear in the requirements or the lack of requirements of the time for buildings and equipment, for teachers, and for materials and methods of instruction. In some of these features of educational work the standards continued low, even after years of agitation for improvement. In others much improvement was made as a result of forces and influences which will be treated in two later chapters. Meantime, however, attention is turned in the next chapter to the peculiar conditions and problems in education in the Southern part of the United States.

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QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Why were so few of the early schoolhouses built in attractive places? How did the rough houses and equipment fit in with the prevailing disciplinary doctrines of the time?

2. Inquire into the condition of any remotely rural schoolhouses in your state now. How many one-teacher schools remain in your state? Why have the physical conditions of rural schools improved so slowly?

3. Under the discouraging conditions of the early schools the way of learning was hard for the children. Is there any danger in the tendency of modern pedagogy to provide many aids for the children?

4. What are the advantages of uniform textbooks? What are the disadvantages?

5. How are the books used in the public schools in your state selected? What is the meaning of "political adoption" of school textbooks?

6. Compare the old methods of teaching spelling with the methods in use today. What method is now considered the best?

7. What was the purpose for which arithmetic was taught in the ante-bellum period? What is the principal purpose now? Point out any value in the examples given from Pike's text (p. 420).

8. Compare the purpose and methods of early geography-teaching and the purpose and methods of the present. What was the value of the jingle method?

9. How have textbooks in grammar and the methods of teaching this subject changed in recent years? Consider these changes in the case of history.

10. Why did slates go out of use in the schools? Point out the changes that have taken place in the teaching of writing. Is attention to this subject likely to increase or to decrease?

11. What considerations should determine the curriculum of the elementary school? of the secondary school?

12. Compare or contrast the old, or traditional, with the new, or so-called progressive, school.

13. What is meant by the often-heard term "the activities program"?

14. Find out about and report on the "eight-year," or "Aikin," study in the thirty progressive schools (see Chapter XIX).

15. Find out about and report on the famous McGuffey Readers.

16. Account for the fabulous success of the McGuffey Readers.

17. Read and report on Schlesinger's "Learning How to Behave."

18. The need for schoolhouses in the United States in 1950 was very acute. Account for that condition and show how your state was trying to meet it.

19. In that year there was a severe shortage of teachers for the elementary schools but a surplus of teachers for the secondary schools. Account for those conditions and show how your state was trying to get an adequate supply of properly educated elementary teachers.

CHAPTER XV

UP FROM SLAVERY

Outline of the chapter. 1. A little more than three decades after the close of the Civil War the Conference for Education in the South was organized, and numerous meetings were held throughout that section, with far-reaching results.

2. Educational conditions in the South at the close of the past century were very backward, with short school terms, meager public educational expenditures, a high percentage of illiteracy, ineffective educational administration, and other defects.

3. Walter H. Page pointed out in "The Forgotten Man" in 1897 that war, reconstruction, economic destitution, racial conflict, partisan politics, sectarian dogma, and the aristocratic theory of education were the conditions through which men had been forgotten in the South.

4. The educational conservatism of the Southern states after the war was in part a heritage of the ante-bellum South, but the public school had been scorned as one of the fruits of reconstruction. Page issued a call to a "wiser statesmanship."

5. The Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, the Conference of Education in the South, the Southern Education Board, the General Education Board, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the Rosenwald Fund, and other organizations and foundations were among the means of educational propaganda and of substantial educational support. Educational campaigns were conducted throughout the Southern states.

6. The work of these agencies had a wide practical influence on the improvement of education in the Southern states. During the past three decades considerable progress has been made in those states.

7. At the middle of the twentieth century efforts were being made to improve the administrative organization and support of public schools, to increase school terms, to improve attendance, salaries of teachers, and libraries, and to strengthen facilities for graduate instruction.

8. Measured by its own past record, the educational progress of the South was remarkable in the second quarter of the twentieth century, but further progress had to be made before all the Southern states could reach national educational standards, as shown by "The Forty-Eight State School Systems," issued by The Council of State Governments in 1949, and by means of additional sources which give reliable comparative material.

When Fort Sumter was attacked in 1861 the institution over which armies were to clash for four bitter years had been sanctioned in America by Church and State for nearly two and a half centuries. Thirty-six years later battle lines were again formed in the South, and again the issue was slavery; but this time it was slavery in a different form, al-



WALTER H. PAGE

Whose speech "The Forgotten Man," aroused the Southern states to more active educational effort in the early part of this century

though it also was heavily sanctioned by the centuries and assented to by Church and State. In 1861 the call to arms came from the presidents of two nations, and the demand was for soldiers and sailors armed with muskets and swords to tear at each other over the bondage of black men. In 1897 the call to battle came from an editor from the South and a preacher from the North, and the demand now was for humanitarians and unofficial statesmen equipped with facts

and figures. Now North and South joined hands and united to break the bonds of multitudes of enslaved whites and blacks. A war of bloodshed followed the call of 1861, and the result is well known to every schoolboy in the land; but it was a war of enlightenment that followed the call of 1897, and few people within the scenes of that crusade and fewer without know how or why it began or what results it has achieved for Southern life and education.

"The Forgotten Man." The editor was Walter H. Page. A native of North Carolina, but then living in the North,

he knew the South as few men of his time knew it. He had learned at first hand of its resources and its weaknesses, its callous spots and its sensitive spots, and all its other characteristics. Perhaps his place in the campaigns carried on to restore and rebuild old commonwealths can never be fully appraised; but one thing is clear: he gave to the cause of education in the South "that one thing which is worth armies to any struggling reform." He gave it a phrase so simple that all men could understand it, a phrase capable of living in the popular mind and moving it to action. For "The Forgotten Man," the title of a speech which Page made at a woman's college in North Carolina in 1897, became the rallying cry of a crusade against poverty and suffering, against ignorance and illiteracy, and against all the ills which stalk in their steps.

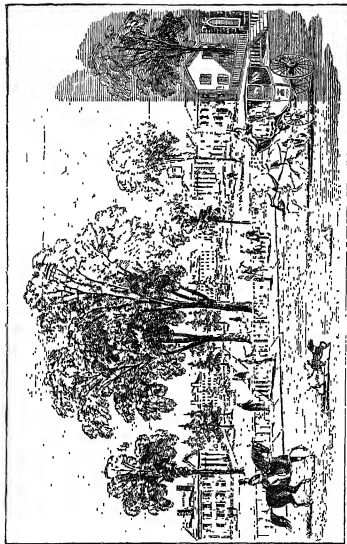
The preacher was Edwin Abbott of St. James's parish, Cambridge, Massachusetts. When Page, in frank and vigorous language, was describing the tragedy of the forgotten man, Abbott was seeing the sad spectacle with his own eyes. In an extended journey through the South during the summer of 1897 he saw the region in all its wretchedness: its backward economic life, its meager facilities for schools, and the despair of a people broken in spirit. The conditions startled him and also deepened his interest in a part of his country which had been crushed by misfortune and was still helpless in its isolation. The need and opportunity for co-operation, for mutual counsel and sympathy, and for constructive effort at once impressed him.

Genesis of the Conference for Education in the South. In the writing room of a hotel at Capon Springs in the Blue Ridge Mountains, near the boundary between Virginia and West Virginia, Abbott told the proprietor, Captain William H. Sale, something of the need of education in the South, and proposed a plan for a conference of the friends of the cause. Sale viewed the matter with interest and later

approved the plan. Abbott named a provisional committee on arrangements, a list of prominent people was drawn up and Captain Sale invited these to be guests at his hotel, a program was arranged, speakers were selected for the first meeting, and the Conference for Christian Education in the South, later changed to the Conference for Education in the South, came into being in the summer of 1898. This organization, established for the purpose of recalling and restoring forgotten men in the South, was unique in American educational history, and to its banner finally flocked thousands of men and women from many walks of life and from three fourths of the American states. Its services in the South and for the good of the whole country appear significant, however, when the conditions that surrounded the South's forgotten men are considered.

Backward conditions. When Page was speaking in 1897, 26 per cent (one in four) of the white people of his own native state were illiterate, to say nothing of the sheer illiteracy and dense ignorance that enveloped the negroes. Similar conditions were found in the other Southern states. At that time there was no adequate state school system anywhere in the South. The idea of education at public expense had not yet become a conviction there. Public education was not an interest of the average citizen. The tradition of education as a luxury and privilege for the rich and the well-born still lingered.

Some of the Southern states at that time were spending less than fifty cents per capita annually for the support of schools. In some of them school-teachers were receiving for their services less than the State allowed for the hire of convicts. From one fifth to one fourth of the schoolhouses were log—miserable tenements of humanity, unfit for man or beast, destitute of any facilities required by modesty and decency. Only one hundred and sixty-eight of more than seven thousand schoolhouses in Virginia had modern



THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA IN ANTE-BELLUM DAYS

provisions for ventilation, and conditions were probably no better anywhere in the South; in fact, the ideal of the "log school" was not infrequently trotted out as a reproach to any suggestions of improvement. The annual school term ranged from sixty days to ninety-three. Less than 60 per cent of the children were enrolled in school and less than 40 per cent attended daily. Teachers were deficient in training, and county superintendents, and often city superintendents too, were lacking in training and leadership — briefless lawyers, broken-down preachers, hungry country editors. State departments of education were undeveloped, and state superintendents were clerks or pitiful political appendages — politicians, soldiers, patriots, or patrioteers. There was not a public high school of standard grade in the South, and not one Southern state had enacted any compulsory-school-attendance legislation. Legislative proposals on this subject were generally opposed by the argument that the time was not ripe for such an advanced step.

Higher education. The conditions surrounding higher education were not much better. The colleges and universities of the South, some of them old and high-spirited, did not rank along with those in other sections of the country. Whether state, private, or denominational, most of them were struggling for existence. Benefactions to higher education had not yet reached that section of the country in such quantity as they poured into the colleges and universities of other regions. All such institutions in the South had only one tenth of the productive funds of the colleges and universities of the United States, one seventeenth of the scientific apparatus, one seventh of the volumes in libraries, and one seventeenth of the total physical equipment. The annual income of one private university in the East alone exceeded the annual income available for higher education in eight of the Southern states. There were no important publishing houses in the South, almost no libraries, and es-

tablished habits of reading among the masses were practically unknown. As a market for books the South was almost barren. Measured by any national standards of the time, Southern education of any grade or degree was forced to the bottom of the list, a condition that had prevailed for many years. Under such conditions it was inevitable that men should have been forgotten.

How men had been forgotten. But how had these conditions arisen? By what fate had so many men been forgotten? The answers are found in war, in reconstruction, in the economic destitution which resulted from these twin calamities, in the bitterness of racial conflict, in partisan politics, in sectarian dogma, and in the aristocratic theory of education. The dead hands of the past still rested heavily upon the South, and its forgotten men were content to be forgotten. Praised by politicians for virtues which they had had no opportunity to acquire, taught by tradition to hate all forms of taxes and to view with suspicion any suggestion for economic or social betterment, these forgotten men were a dead weight to progress. They were taught, and they believed, that what was good enough for their fathers was good enough for themselves and their children. It was not uncommon for preachers to join in the chorus and to tell the forgotten man that his poverty and wretchedness were in reality blessings in disguise, means of special grace. And if he became despondent and felt the need of consolation for his hopeless condition, he could have it from stump and pulpit, from both of which he was reminded that many of his kinsmen had been killed in war for the glory and honor of his state.

The war. No accurate and fair report can be given of the progress which the South has made in public education since 1898 without taking into account the fearful odds it faced at that time. Few if any people anywhere ever had to struggle with such stubborn obstacles. For a generation

economic desolation had made it difficult for the South to meet adequately its educational and other social needs. Four years of war had worked an almost complete economic collapse. Factories, public buildings, railroads, houses, barns, farm implements, even seeds for planting had been destroyed. Banks had been ruined. The labor system had been demoralized. State treasuries had been depleted, state credit lost, and for decades public finances remained in a perilous condition. These states had quickly become and had long remained a region of poor roads, of agricultural backwardness, of millions of unused acres, and of multitudes of mortgages. The masses of the people were often actually in want.

Reconstruction. Congressional reconstruction had followed the war and, not satisfied with robbing the South of the little which the war had spared, had run its fingers deep into the pockets of posterity. Upon the future generations of North Carolina it piled up a debt of more than \$35,000,000, nearly one third of the total valuation of that state's property at that time. Upon Louisiana was heaped a debt of \$40,000,000, upon Alabama \$18,000,000, upon Tennessee \$14,000,000, and upon all the Southern states more than \$300,000,000. The proceeds from these bonds were not often used to repair and restore the waste places in Southern life; instead they were squandered, for the most part by venal and ignorant officials and legislatures, through hundreds of cases of flagrant fraud and extravagance. Thus crippled, the Southern states were unable to finance their own economic recuperation.

The tyrant Cotton. Added to the desolation of the period and the broken spirit of the people were millions of helpless and ignorant negroes who but yesterday were slaves, most of them destined to lives of day labor and farm tenancy. Cotton, which had been king in ante-bellum days, was now a despot. The South came to know little else but cotton.

which, even under a system of tenancy, rapidly encroached upon fields formerly used for other Southern staples. Six of the ten leading grain states in the eighteen-thirties were in the South, but in 1900 only three of these ten states which produced most of the corn of the country were Southern. Agricultural diversity as a remedy for economic adversity had not yet been learned.

The efforts of the people to restore their economic life during these years were often tragic. Living expenses for thousands of humble families, both black and white, were borrowed to make cotton. Southern banks of slender resources borrowed credit from banks in the North and East and gave the promise to use it to raise cotton, the coming crop being given as security; from these Southern banks the local merchant borrowed on the same promise that the credit would be used to grow cotton, and from the local merchant the local farmer or landlord borrowed and used the credit himself or extended it to his tenant for the sole purpose of raising cotton. The cotton crop was thus mortgaged, often before it was planted, and its value was generally spent before the crop was harvested.

Under these crop-lien arrangements neither landlord nor merchant nor banker encouraged or permitted the tenant to raise food for the family or feed for the mule. The tenant bought provisions on credit with the landlord, who had the credit with the merchant, who had it from the local banker, who had it in the North or East, with time prices for provisions much higher than cash prices. When the cotton was picked the tenant was forced to sell it, no matter what the price, to the landlord, who owed the merchant, who owed the local banker, who owed the banker in the North or East. Farming on shares, cropping, crop liens, and tenancy formed a vicious cycle of economic despotism. Merciless forces daily drove agriculture more and more toward a base servitude and sent the curve of the curse of tenancy steadily

upward. The South was in economic bondage, there was no sound basis for social reform, and public education was poverty-stricken.

Racial conflict. Another heavy handicap against which public education struggled had its roots in racial conflict. Much of the misery of the South at the turn of the century resulted from the sudden and indiscriminate gift of the ballot, during Reconstruction, to men unprepared for its proper use. The immediate political results of congressional reconstruction were startling, and the spectacles that followed for many years caused sober men to question whether true democracy involved universal suffrage. The price of political vice, corruption, villainy, and outrage seemed too great to pay for it. The negro was exploited by demagogues and designing politicians, and under the domination of his ignorance and irresponsibility there followed an orgy of riot and rascality, of frenzied and dissolute political revelry. Democracy quickly became no less a mockery than it had been in the ante-bellum days.

The negro continued a barrier to education in the South as public energies became more and more absorbed in the fierce conflict to eliminate him from politics. Intimidation, open bribery, the stuffing of ballot boxes, the manipulation and falsification of election returns, had developed into fine arts. By those and other illegal means the dangers of negro domination were somewhat averted during a decade or more after the close of reconstruction; but the negro vote continued dangerous because it was uncertain, and it was uncertain because it was generally purchasable. The wits of political factions among the whites were pitted against each other in the bid for their black brother's ballot. But the devices used were crude, unpleasant, and illegal. Open and avowed suppression of the negro vote appeared safer and much more respectable than fraud and chicanery if the methods chosen could be made to wear

the color of legality. Finally, by means now well known, reconstruction was undone, and the ballot was taken from the illiterate negro. In the meantime, however, public education had been subordinated and often sacrificed to less worthy if more pressing interests. The education of both whites and blacks had fallen pitifully into neglect. Public schools could not be encouraged so long as public energies were required to wrest government and political power from ignorant negroes and their unconscionable allies.



STUDENT TYPES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA¹

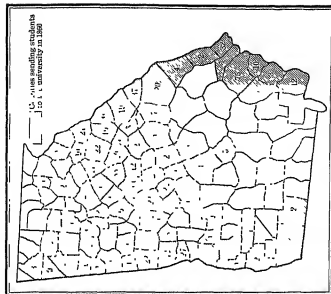
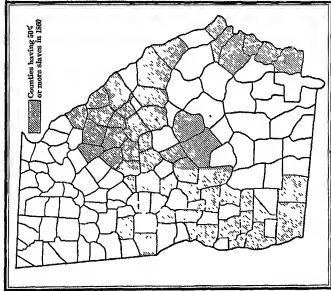
The picture at the left is of a student of ante-bellum days, and the son of a rich planter. In the center appears a student soldier. At the right is a student of the reconstruction period

Southern conservatism. To the economic ruin and the political chaos that marked the three decades immediately after the close of the Civil War must be added another obstacle which stood stubbornly in the way of public educational development. The conservatism of the South after the war was a heritage of the ante-bellum South, with its roots running far into the past. It was a difficult obstacle to remove because it was persistent and subtle. The Southern people had not neglected to provide for the training of leaders in the ante-bellum days. In 1860 there were nearly 26,000 college students in the South (not counting the large number of Southern students who were attending col-

¹From E. M. Coulter's "College Life in the Old South." Copyright, 1928, by The Macmillan Company. Reprinted by permission.

leges in the East) in comparison with nearly 17,000 college students in the Northwestern states and about 10,500 in the Eastern states. The University of North Carolina ranked second in enrollment of students, with Yale heading the list. The University of Virginia and the South Carolina College were likewise influential institutions. But nowhere in the South had full preparation been made for the education of the masses. The old system of class education had not helped them. If Southern opinion on education under leaders such as Wise in Virginia and Wiley in North Carolina had not been so fully aroused as had opinion in New England under Horace Mann and Henry Barnard, it was due in part to the social conservatism of the South, grown strong under the influence of slavery, upon which the old landed aristocracy was established. Relics of the aristocratic structure of opinion loitered in the ruins for decades after the war.

Attitude of the South toward schools. In such an atmosphere it was not strange that education for all at public expense should not have been looked upon as a function of government in the South in 1898. Moreover, the public school, free and open alike to all, was scorned as one of the fruits of reconstruction. It promised equal opportunities to the plain people, who before the war had been counted among the underprivileged, in other sections of the country as well as in the South. The public school was now open also to the training of a people who recently had been in a state of legal servitude. "Your free schools," wrote a professor in a Southern college to his state superintendent of schools a few years before Page pictured the forgotten man, "like not a few of the other pretensions of radicalism, are in fact exactly opposite to the name falsely assumed." He argued that the principle by which "the State intrudes into the parental obligation and function of educating all children is dangerous and agrarian." The theory that the child



The figures on the map at the right show the number of students sent by each county in Georgia to the state university in 1860. Note that most of these were slaveholding counties, as shown by the map at the left. (From E. M. Coulter's "College Life in the Old South." Copyright, 1928, by The Macmillan Company. Reprinted by permission.)

belongs to the state he pronounced to be pagan, "derived from heathen Sparta and Plato's heathen Republic."

Page's description. Page pointed out how these conditions had filled the South with forgotten men and forgotten women — the latter "thin and wrinkled in youth from ill-prepared food, clad without warmth or grace, living in untidy houses, working from daylight till bedtime at the dull round of weary duties, the slaves of men of equal slovenliness, the mothers of joyless children — all uneducated if not illiterate." These common people should be considered in the structure of civilization, he told his audience, startled by a doctrine almost new in the South. True, here and there in the South it had been stated before, and here and there had appeared a quickening of civilizing influences, and in spots the movement for better schools had slowly gained force. But only a little had the level of the life of the masses been lifted. Page charged that politicians and preachers had neglected these forgotten men and the partners of their hopelessness, the dull-faced mothers of the hovel; and he, the editor from the South, issued a call to a "wiser statesmanship." Only the organized agencies through which this statesmanship could work were now needed, and these were to grow out of the plan proposed by Abbott, the preacher from the North. Through this organization the Southern people came courageously to face the odds against them, and through its work many decisive victories were to be won for the prosperity and well-being of both North and South.

Educational propaganda. The most effective organized agency appeared in the work of the Conference for Education in the South, whose origin has already been referred to, and in the movement represented by the Southern Education Board and the General Education Board. The first meeting of the Conference for Christian Education in the South (also known as the Southern Conference Movement and the Ogden Movement) was held at Capon Springs, West Virginia,

and the Reverend T. U. Dudley, Bishop of Kentucky, an alumnus of the University of Virginia, and late Chancellor of the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee, was elected president. At the second conference, held the following year at the same place, the name was changed to the Conference for Education in the South, and Dr. J. L. M. Curry, general agent of the Peabody and Slater boards, was elected president. The third conference also met at Capon Springs, and Mr. Robert C. Ogden of New York, one of the most sympathetic friends public education in the South ever had, was elected to the presidency and served in that position for many years. To his generous enterprise, resourcefulness, and administrative wisdom much of the success of the conference was due. For several years he invited numerous people in the North who were interested in education to attend these annual meetings as his guests and provided special trains for their accommodation. In this way influential people of that section became acquainted with those of congenial spirit in the South and thus gained a safer knowledge of the perplexing problems and needs of Southern life.

Formal resolutions of the early conferences were significant. They dealt with the importance of thoroughness of elementary instruction, longer school terms, better-qualified teachers and better buildings and equipment, traveling libraries, and industrial education. Impressive also is this resolution of the second conference :

Resolved, That the education of the white race in the South is the pressing and imperative need, and the noble achievements of the Southern Commonwealths in the creation of common school systems for both races deserve not merely the sympathetic recognition of the country and of the world at large but also give the old and high-spirited colleges and universities of the South a strong claim upon a generous share of that stream of private wealth in the United States that is enriching and vitalizing the higher education of the North and West.

Succeeding meetings of the conference were held at Winston-Salem, Athens, Richmond, Birmingham, Columbia, Lexington, Pinehurst, Memphis, and other cities in the South. At the instance of the conference the Southern Education Board was organized in 1901 to aid in the development and the wise direction of educational sentiment and to help toward securing larger policies for education by appealing to the resources of taxation and local forces for self-development. The board neither held funds nor distributed them. Extensive and systematic field work was planned with Dr. J. L. M. Curry as supervising director, President Edwin A. Alderman, then of Tulane University, President Charles D. McIver of the North Carolina Normal and Industrial College, and President H. B. Frissell of Hampton Institute as district directors. President C. W. Dabney, then of the University of Tennessee, was selected as chief of the bureau of investigation, information, and publication; and the services of Dr. P. P. Claxton, then of the University of Tennessee, and Professor J. D. Eggleston, Jr., of Virginia were secured for the bureau of publicity, which was established at Knoxville.

Educational campaigns. The plans and purposes of this novel campaign for education met with the instant approval of the Southern press and with the practical support of the leading people at that time engaged in school work in that section. Able advocates of better schools came forward and enlisted their services in the movement: college and university presidents and professors, lawyers, business men, officeholders, and other builders of public opinion. The most practical school questions were discussed in the meetings which were now held throughout the South: better buildings, increased school funds, improved teaching, improved legislation for schools, and more effective educational organization and administration generally. People gathered in schoolhouses, churches, courthouses, public halls, in city

and country alike, to hear discussions of the ways and means of improving education for their communities. Popular education was the theme before multitudes, and enthusiasm for it spread widely and grew warm among the people. In the meantime the General Education Board was formed (1903) for the purpose of wise and systematic coöperation with the Southern Education Board, to investigate, collect, and present actual facts concerning educational conditions in the South and to render financial assistance within the discretion of its trustees and the limits of its resources. Its services to education in the South have been large and varied.

The early work of the General Education Board in the South had four main directions. Through the United States Department of Agriculture it made large contributions for the promotion of practical farming under an agreement begun in 1906. Demonstration farms were employed under supervision of demonstration agents, who also conducted work among boys and girls under actual farming conditions through boys' and girls' clubs. Aid to secondary education was another important and continuing service of the board, which appropriated to state universities or to state departments of education sums sufficient to provide high-school inspectors. Through this means hundreds of secondary schools were established. In addition, the board made gifts for higher education in the South, to increase endowments and equipment, contributed to the support of negro schools, mainly those for the training of teachers, and appropriated funds for the expenses of rural-school supervisors, who worked under the direction of state departments of education in each of the Southern states, for the promotion of better educational, economic, and social conditions of the colored people. Other services of the board were rendered to medical education, to schools of education, and in helping to finance surveys of state school systems and "workshops." In 1947 the board "resolved to concentrate its efforts in behalf of ed-

ucation in the South mainly in three directions: (a) the improvement of graduate instruction; (b) the strengthening of fields related to the economic and social development of the South; (c) improvement of personnel and teaching in the public schools."

The educational advance. The work of these agencies had at once a powerful and practical influence on educational development in the South. Active campaigns for better schools and for improved educational facilities generally were promoted, beginning in North Carolina in 1902, in Virginia in 1903, in Georgia and Tennessee in 1904, in South Carolina, Alabama, and Mississippi in 1905, and in Arkansas, Florida, and other states in 1908. Most of these campaigns were continued for several years with fruitful results. Improvements appeared in many ways: the educational provisions of the constitutions and laws were revised and strengthened, the school revenues were increased by 100 to 200 per cent in a decade, the improvement of schoolhouses was marked, the annual school term was lengthened to one hundred and twenty-one days by 1910, and the enrollment and average daily attendance increased. Illiteracy decreased, local taxes for schools multiplied, teachers' salaries increased considerably in comparison with those paid in 1900, progress was made in the training of teachers through state-supported normal schools and teacher-training agencies in institutions of higher learning, and the certification of teachers was put on a better basis. The revival movement also gave impetus to the development of high schools, which began to be established in rural communities as an integral part of the state school systems. Interest in the consolidation of the smaller schools into larger, better-graded, and better-equipped schools began to grow, rural libraries increased, school-improvement and parent-teacher associations were formed, child-labor and compulsory-attendance legislation appeared and was expanded, and supervision

through a better type of county superintendent began to show improvement here and there in these states.

Gains made. By 1915 the average annual school term had lengthened to one hundred and thirty days. The average term for the United States in that year, however, was approximately one hundred and sixty days. The average annual salary of all teachers was \$328 in the South and \$543 for the country at large. The average annual expenditure per child of school age was \$8.50 for the South and \$22.19 for the United States, and the value of school property per capita of school population was \$18 and \$79 respectively. Approximately 72 per cent of the school population in the South was enrolled as against 74 per cent in the United States; nearly 69 per cent of the enrollment (50 per cent of the school population) was in average attendance in the South compared with 76 per cent of the enrollment (56 per cent of the school population) in the country as a whole. Out of 8906 public high schools reporting a four years' course of study in the United States in 1915, with an enrollment of 1,362,514 pupils (about 5 per cent of the school population), 1466 such schools with 150,607 pupils (about 2 per cent of the school population) were in the South. A study by the United States Bureau of Education in 1922 reported in the Southern states 1575 secondary schools, public and private, approved by the state departments of education and accredited by the state universities.

The low rank of the South. Notwithstanding the progress made, however, most of the Southern states continued to rank low among their sister states. Measured by attendance in elementary school and in high school, in length of term, and in expenditure (per child of school age, per child attending, and per teacher for salaries) they ranked among the forty-eight states in 1918 as follows: Texas thirty-sixth, Florida thirty-seventh, Virginia thirty-ninth, Tennessee fortieth, Louisiana forty-second, Georgia forty-third, North

Carolina forty-fourth, Alabama forty-fifth, Arkansas forty-sixth, Mississippi forty-seventh, and South Carolina forty-eighth. In that year the waste as a result of nonattendance, due to ill-prepared teachers and to lack of adequate child-labor and compulsory-attendance laws, was about 33 per cent, with 25 per cent as the corresponding figure for the United States. The percentage of the school population enrolled in high schools of all grades was 9.3 in the United States and 5.1 per cent in the South. The increase in teachers' salaries generally had been substantial, but the average annual salary paid to public elementary and secondary teachers in the South was less than four fifths of the average for the United States.

The explanation. The explanation of this low educational position is not hard to find. With limited funds the Southern states must provide two systems of education for large numbers of children scattered over wide areas. They had relatively a larger school population than the other sections of the country. For each thousand adult males in these states there were 1279 children of school age, whereas the corresponding average was 789 in the North and 600 in the West. Moreover, the estimated average true value of all property for each child of school age in the South was approximately one third that of the Northern states and one fourth of that of the Western states. In addition, there was the disadvantage of sparsity of population in the South. Only three or four of the Southern states had more than ten white children of school age to the square mile and none had an average of ten colored school children to the square mile. Moreover, the policy of separate schools was accepted as permanent. In the Northern states the average density of school population was from three to ten times greater than that of the South, and in the Western states, where the school population was small, it was largely concentrated in the irrigated regions, the rich river valleys,

and the mining towns and was not so widely distributed as in practically all the Southern states.

Those states were rapidly finding their duty, however, not in the measure of their resources for school support but rather in the measure of their needs for it. With less than normal power they had to bear abnormal burdens. Between 1900 and 1915 the increase in public-school expenditures for the United States was 180 per cent, in the South it was 280 per cent, and the policy of increased expenditures for the enlargement of educational facilities was rapidly coming to be accepted as permanent. The expenditures in millions of dollars for public-school maintenance for the school year 1947-1948 were. Mississippi 33; Arkansas 40; South Carolina 48; Kentucky 57; West Virginia 58, Louisiana 63; Alabama 65; Georgia 66; Virginia 73; Tennessee 74; Florida 75; North Carolina 102; Texas 198, according to report from the United States Office of Education in March, 1950. At that time some of those states had made or were making vigorous efforts to provide much needed school buildings.

Reforms and tendencies. The tendency to improve administrative organization of public education had not made the same progress in the South, however, as in the country at large. Of the nine states in the Union still retaining ex-officio state boards of education, four were Southern states (Texas, Florida, Mississippi, and North Carolina), and nearly all of the Southern states still elected their state superintendent of schools by popular vote. In some of those states county boards were elected by popular vote, and Texas, Florida, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Georgia continued to elect county superintendents of schools by that method. These latter officers were appointed by the county boards of education in North Carolina, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Alabama, by the county courts in Tennessee, and by the state board of education in Virginia. In theory the county was the unit of local school administration, but

in practice it was the district, with many of its traditional functions, though there was a hopeful tendency toward making the county the unit for the support and direction of public schools. Of significance also was the intelligent manner in which several Southern states had approached these administrative problems through commissions to study and report on educational conditions.

With the enactment of a compulsory-attendance law in Mississippi in 1918 the last of the Southern states became committed to the policy of requiring children between certain ages to attend school for all or some part of the school term. This movement had begun in the South in 1905 with the passage of initial legislation on the subject in Tennessee. North Carolina followed in 1907, Virginia in 1908, Arkansas in 1909, Louisiana in 1910, South Carolina, Texas, Florida, and Alabama in 1915, Georgia in 1916, and Mississippi in 1918. Revisions, extensions, and improvements were made in some of these states after the introductory enactments, though such legislation was still local and optional in character and very defective, and lacked the full force of public approval needed for its complete success.

Child-labor legislation, closely related to compulsory-attendance laws, was found in all the Southern states in 1923, but reform was needed there also. Some of the states had made beginnings in legislation and practices designed to protect dependent and delinquent children. Perhaps one of the most advanced and complete plans, not only in the South but in the country at large, was that set up in North Carolina in 1919. It provided for boards of public welfare and a juvenile court in every court in every county, with jurisdiction over all delinquent, neglected, and dependent children under sixteen years of age. Improvement had appeared also in general health regulations and the physical examinations of school children, and in renewed efforts, largely as a result of the war, to eliminate illiteracy, with

which the South was still shamefully burdened. Other hopeful signs of educational progress appeared in the tendency to improve the status of the public-school teacher by raising and standardizing the qualifications to teach and by making provisions for the teachers to meet the requirements by enlarging teacher-training facilities. The tendency was toward state rather than county certification and toward accrediting approved university and college diplomas and accepting credentials of teachers from other states. The Southern states, which had such a bitter and discouraging experience after 1861, have made much educational progress since Page in 1897 reminded them of their obligation to the "forgotten man."

School terms. The amount of schooling which a state or community provides for its children is a fair test of its educational effectiveness. During the early part of the twentieth century, the Southern states suffered in this respect by comparison with most of the other states, whose annual school terms generally exceeded those in the South, where the dual school system had long been a settled policy, one school for whites and another for negroes. In 1948 the average term, in days, for the Continental United States was 177.6. By that time many of the Southern states had reached and a few had exceeded that average. In general, as the table on page 20 shows, the Southern states made a better showing as to average daily attendance than in the early part of the century. In 1946, the latest year for which data were available, the percentage of total enrollment in secondary schools was generally below, and in some states far below, the national average, as the table on page 21 shows.

Other signs of progress. In addition to lengthened school terms, improvement has been made in the regular attendance of children at school, in salaries of teachers, in physical equipment, in secondary education for the children of both races, in the reduction of illiteracy, extension of both pub-

lic and school libraries, and in the consolidation of weak and ineffective into stronger and more effective schools, in which the Southern states have, partly due to necessity, led the nation. In 1946, the latest year for which statistics on the subject were available, 21.7 per cent of the total enrollment of secondary-school students in Continental United States were transported to school at public expense. In North Carolina the figure was 37.9; Alabama 36.6; Virginia 36.4; Mississippi 36.2; Louisiana 36.1; West Virginia 34.4; Arkansas 33.2; Florida 30.2; Texas 30.1; Kentucky 29.5; Tennessee 27.4; Georgia 27.2; South Carolina 18.3. Corresponding figures for some other states were Missouri 17.7; New Jersey 15.8; Massachusetts 12.2; New York 11.1; Rhode Island 9.8; South Dakota 8.9; Kansas 6.9; Nebraska 2.2. In 1948, of the 75,000 one-teacher schools in the United States Kentucky had 3462; West Virginia 2528; Tennessee 2265; Mississippi 1850; Georgia 1758; Arkansas 1517; Texas 1200; Virginia 1178; Alabama 1076; South Carolina 1019; Louisiana 772; North Carolina 612; and Florida 420. Some figures for other states with large numbers of one-teacher schools were Illinois 6678; Iowa 5637; Missouri 5272; Wisconsin 4475; Minnesota 4421; South Dakota 3402; Kansas 3090; Michigan 2942; North Dakota 2848; Pennsylvania 2744.

School property. The average value of public-school property per pupil enrolled in 1948 was \$385 for Continental United States, with New York leading with \$713. The average for the Middle Atlantic States was \$611; New England States \$512; East North Central \$451; Pacific \$430; West North Central \$402; Mountain \$370; West South Central \$255; South Atlantic \$236; East South Central \$136. For the Southern States the figures were: Texas \$300; West Virginia \$290; Virginia \$255; Florida \$252; Louisiana \$245; Kentucky \$198; North Carolina \$196; Arkansas \$172; Georgia \$163; South Carolina \$156; Mississippi \$130;

Tennessee \$119; Alabama \$103. At mid-century many states were making provision for aiding counties and local communities in building schoolhouses.

Salaries of teachers. Against the national annual average of \$2639 in 1948, California led with \$3690, followed by New York with \$3476; Washington \$3325; Maryland \$3321; Connecticut \$3249; Arizona \$3136; Rhode Island \$3105; Massachusetts \$3103; New Jersey \$3102; and Indiana \$3037. The ten states with lowest salaries were Nebraska \$1919; Tennessee \$1901; Kentucky \$1884; South Dakota \$1883; Maine \$1767; South Carolina \$1742; Georgia \$1724; North Dakota \$1665; Arkansas \$1545; and Mississippi \$1256.

Illiteracy. By October, 1947, illiteracy had so declined that only 2.7 per cent of the population of the United States fourteen years of age or more could not read and write. Corresponding figures for 1920 were 6.5, and for 1930 it was 4.7. Deaths of relatively numerous aged illiterates, special training given illiterates in the Second World War, fuller enforcement of compulsory-attendance legislation, and the extension of educational opportunities all exerted a strong influence in the continuing reduction of illiteracy. But the illiteracy rates in 1947 were 11 per cent among non-whites and 5 per cent in rural-farm areas. Illiteracy in 1920, in 1930, and in 1947 showed lower rates for each successively younger age group.

In the census of 1940, data were collected on the highest grade of school completed. The figures on the median years of school completed for persons twenty-five years of age or more were: Continental United States 8.4 per cent; native white 8.8 per cent; foreign-born white 7.3 per cent; negro 5.7 per cent; other races 6.8 per cent; urban 8.7 per cent; rural, non-farm 8.4 per cent; rural, farm 7.7 per cent. The corresponding figures for native whites and for negroes in the Southern states were:

STATE	NATIVE WHITES	NEGROES
Alabama	8.2	4.5
Arkansas	8.1	5.2
Florida	9.5	5.2
Georgia	8.4	4.2
Kentucky	7.8	6.2
Louisiana	8.2	3.9
Mississippi	8.9	4.7
North Carolina	8.1	5.1
South Carolina	8.7	3.9
Tennessee	8.0	5.8
Texas	9.3	6.1
Virginia	8.3	5.0
West Virginia	7.9	6.5

Libraries. In public and school libraries the Southern states remained for a long time at the bottom of the list, but conditions greatly improved in the second quarter of the twentieth century. In some states movements for improved library facilities and services assumed proportions of crusades. In 1947 there were 24,000,000 people in the Southeastern states and their public libraries contained 8,500,000 books. In that year expenditures for public libraries were \$4,500,000, or about 18 cents per capita, and the people borrowed 30,000,000 library books for home use. Notwithstanding such an advance in this important field, the nation as a whole spent about 52 cents per capita that year for public library support and the people borrowed about three books each. The brighter side of the picture revealed energy and inventiveness among librarians in the Southeastern states. There were 271 municipal libraries in 1947 which had spread their holdings among 900 branches and stations. Outside the urban communities there were 326 county and regional libraries that were using 116 bookmobiles and about 14,000 branches and stations as points of library service for the rural South. In that year 7,000,000 more rural people had book services than had them in 1937. Moreover, seven states were providing state aid to public libraries, from

\$22,500 in Mississippi to \$300,000 in Georgia. State aid to school libraries in North Carolina in 1947 was \$165,000 or about \$5 per teacher. In 1950 this sum was doubled, and the number of departments and schools that provided for the education of librarians had been greatly increased. There were twenty-seven departments or schools of library science that were preparing school and teacher librarians and also librarians for public and college libraries. Six of these schools and departments had been accredited by the American Library Association and twenty by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. By 1947 these schools and departments had graduated 4125 librarians. Research facilities needed to be developed, greater support and increased services needed to be provided, strong state library associations needed to be developed, a program of education for librarianship better adapted to the conditions of the region needed strengthening, better library buildings were needed, and the program demanded that "a top flight graduate school leading to the doctorate . . . be set up with active research programs relating to the libraries of the Southeast."

Expenditures¹ for public libraries in 1947 by state and per capita were as follows:

STATE	TOTAL EXPENDITURES	PER CAPITA TOTAL POPULATION
Alabama	\$294,800	\$0.10
Florida	486,949	.26
Georgia	727,728	.23
Kentucky	456,771	.16
Mississippi	187,635	.09
North Carolina	892,942	.25
South Carolina	294,208	.15
Tennessee	555,590	.19
Virginia	553,670	.21
Region	\$4,450,293	\$0.18

¹Given in L. R. Wilson and Marion A. Milezewski (Editors), "Libraries of the Southeast" Chapel Hill, 1949, p. 46

High schools. In 1948 the 22,408 public four-year high schools in the United States had 1,073,000 graduates. The figures for 8388 high schools in the Southern states were as follows:

STATE	NUMBER OF HIGH SCHOOLS	GRADUATES
Alabama	629	18,622
Arkansas	526	13,132
Florida	305	15,208
Georgia	691	18,153
Kentucky	566	16,089
Louisiana	511	13,803
Mississippi	749	11,379
North Carolina	962	26,025
South Carolina	486	2,548
Tennessee	525	18,372
Texas	1535	52,732
Virginia	548	21,307
West Virginia	355	15,794
Total for Region	8388	243,487

Variety of practices in administration. The tendency to improve administrative organization of public education had not, by the middle of the twentieth century, made the same progress in the Southern states as in some other parts of the country. In 1948, according to "The Forty-Eight State School Systems," published in 1949 by The Council of State Governments, thirty-one of the states still elected their chief state school officers by popular vote; and of these thirty-one states, ten were Southern: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, and West Virginia. In Arkansas the chief state school officer was appointed by the State Board of Education. The annual salaries of these officers in 1948 were: Virginia \$9960; Florida \$9000; Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina \$7500; North Carolina and Tennessee \$6600; Texas and West Virginia \$6000; Alabama \$5700; and Arkansas and Kentucky \$5000. State

boards of education were constituted in several ways, but the usual pattern was appointment by the governor, with some members *ex officio*. Members of county boards of education were often chosen in the same way.

Unrest and competition. When the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools was formed in 1895, education in the South was in a state of unrest and uncertainty and there was much competition for students, as elsewhere in the United States at that time. Secondary education generally lacked competent organization and direction. The rapid expansion of knowledge in the nineteenth century had led to a great increase in the subjects and courses in the secondary schools for whose students competing colleges made bid, often making extravagant claims for themselves and their work. Similar conditions existed elsewhere, of course, but in the South there was also the acute issue over public as against private and denominational education. Southern educational leaders warned against the danger of such an issue and against the reckless denominational zeal that tended to establish "an over-supply of poorly equipped colleges, which drag out a meager existence, gather patronage together only by the application of the Church whip; and serve at the same time to starve the bodies of their professors and the minds of their pupils," as Chancellor James H. Kirkland of Vanderbilt University had said in his inaugural in 1893, two years before the Southern Association was formed. "In educational institutions what we need now above all things is not quantity, but quality," he declared, a point of view that was very sound in 1950.

The Southern Association. In his report to the Board of Trust of Vanderbilt University in 1896, Chancellor Kirkland said that the purpose of the Southern Association was to encourage the colleges to adopt uniform requirements for admission and to unite their efforts to raise the standards of the secondary schools, most of which were then private insti-

tutions. An appeal for coöperation was made to the colleges in the first published proceedings of the Association in 1896, when it was declared that the organization could be an instrument of great improvement for education in the South and that the interests were common to all concerned. The record of the Association over more than half a century was reflected both in its procedures and in the evolution of its standards. Highly significant also was its influence in successive crises that had threatened the integrity of education in the South and of its member institutions. The Association stood steadfastly upon the principle that "to keep education free from political manipulation is fundamental to the preservation of liberty." It served to strengthen the authority of those institutions or school systems when these were menaced by unwarranted interference, and its prestige stood as solemn warning to those who would exploit education for partisan political purposes.

The task ahead. Advances during the past three or four decades in education in the South, which at the turn of the century was at best a dismal prospect, had appeared in continuous quantitative triumphs. The story of those achievements is a most important chapter in the history of the South and of education generally. The task before the Southern people in 1950 and in the years ahead was to do qualitatively in education what they had done so well quantitatively for many years against heavy odds. Scholarship and opportunities for research in the South had not been blessed with the support which other sections of the country had provided. Provision for more generous grants for research, for scholarships, and for fellowships for gifted young people was sorely needed. Provision for the stimulation and proper support of research on problems peculiar to the South was a responsibility of leaders of higher education and of governing authority there. In 1948 there were thirty-four members of the Association of American Universities. Four

of these—Duke, North Carolina, Texas, and Virginia—were in the South.

The proper education rather than the mechanical training of teachers was also a pressing need in the South in 1950.

Waste, waste, waste. Said Gerald Johnson, in "The Wasted Land":

Waste is the enemy. Waste of land, waste of people, waste of time, waste of energy — these, and no outside foe, are throttling her. Therefore loud defiance and bitter complaints are simply more waste. There is one remedy, and one only — to stop the waste. But who is to accomplish that? The damnyankee cannot do it. All the bankers of Wall Street, either alone or miraculously allied with all the Communists in Moscow, cannot do it. Neither the Capitalist System, nor the Socialist System, nor any other system ever devised or dreamed of can do it. Nothing can do it but the intelligence and energy of the people of the region. It must be the people, too. Leaders are necessary, to be sure, and the abler they are, the better; but quite mediocre men, were they backed by a widespread and vigorous public opinion, could accomplish wonders toward halting many of the wastes that deplete the land.¹

In addition to these afflictions, there have been evidences also of complacency and of xenophobia. Satisfaction with what they have done may tend to blind the Southern states to the things they should do in the years ahead. Educational inequalities in these states, as in some other sections of the country, are in some respects as glaring as they were at the turn of the century. Moreover, as Johnson also pointed out, in "The Wasted Land," the South "must somehow contrive to suppress its marked tendency toward xenophobia, the hatred of the stranger."

Occasionally the Southern press reveals evidences of complacency and of xenophobia. The Speaker of the House

¹ Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1937.

of Representatives of a Southern state, in a statement given to the press a few years ago, asserted, "Although I do not have the facts I should not wonder if the amount of money spent for public schools in this state is as much per capita as any state in the Union." He had made no effort to ascertain the facts, but his statement was probably believed by most of the people who read it. The commonwealth of which he was boasting should double its funds for public schools in order to be ranked even as an average state. Another Southern citizen, who desired to serve his state in high office and was permitted the opportunity, declared to a multitude of voters, "Speaking in terms of the rate of progress made in public education in the past quarter of a century, our commonwealth has undoubtedly outstripped any state in the Union." A prominent and practiced vote-getter flattered many hundreds of his constituents by saying, "No government on earth, in the short space of twenty-five years, has written and incarnated in the life of a people more of the platform of Jesus Christ than has the Democratic party in our state." He thought it positively wrong for any citizen to suggest that there was anything wrong with the schools. "The spiritual and cultural life of this state has kept pace with its material advance," he said, "and the path of the program of progress in our commonwealth is as the dawning light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

The solutions. If the South would attain to national standards in education, frank admission of its educational shortcomings is the first safe step toward that achievement. It is the facts of its present educational deficiencies and not recitals of them which now defame the South. If these facts are faced honestly neither the South's need for greatly enlarged educational facilities nor its ability to meet the need can be denied. The Southern states can put within the reach of every child within their borders public educational

advantages much more nearly adequate than those now provided. The standards of the best in education should be made the standards of the South, and any other goal is unworthy of its need and ability. But until this initial step is taken the Southern states are likely to remain heavily handicapped by another affliction: the South has not yet thoroughly learned that provincial prejudice is not patriotism and that acute sensitiveness to just criticism is not loyalty. These are social insanities which help to perpetuate educational backwardness. Indifference to its weaknesses or failure to admit them is more of a reproach to the South than the weaknesses themselves.

The Southern states are not as poor as formerly. They have made such a giant stride from poverty to prosperity that they are now able to do much better than ever before for public schools and other public services. The First World War, moreover, not only revealed the weaknesses of education there, as in other parts of the United States, but it also helped the South to find itself. Under the impetus of the call to fight, to give, and to do for others what it had not felt fully able to do for itself, the South found fresh hope and new energies. The call for food for American soldiers and those of Europe, the campaign against waste, and the drives for the Red Cross and for Liberty Bonds led the South to thoughtful consideration of new enterprises and of old ones undeveloped. More nearly complete remedies for its shortcomings were thus revealed. The measure of the South's conscience on schools and other means of intellectual progress must now be taken neither from its impatience with criticism from without nor from its ability to build schools, but rather from its constantly growing need for education. Just as the chief problem of the South at the turn of the century was to secure complete agreement on education, so the chief need today is to educate. The task today is little less conspicuous for its magnitude and difficulty than it was then.

The task now is to build schools on a sound basis of financial support, professional direction, and supervision, so as to furnish every child equal educational rights — "the opportunity 'to burgeon out all that there is within him'" to use the words of Aycock, North Carolina's educational governor. Then, and then only, will the people of the South be enabled



CHARLES B. AYCOCK

North Carolina's educational governor

to observe fully, faithfully, and intelligently their constantly enlarging relationships and, in paraphrase of Jefferson, the earliest of the South's educational statesmen, to understand what goes on in the world and to keep their part of it going on right.

It should be seen from the foregoing discussion that the establishment and maintenance of public educational facilities have been difficult problems in the Southern states since the Civil War. But many reforms and improvements

have been made in the South since the turn of the century. Measured with the past record of the Southern states, the progress made seems phenomenal. Much work still remains to be done in the Southern states, and some obstacles persist after many years of agitation to remove them. But with the enormous increase in economic wealth these states can now move forward in education if the danger of satisfaction with what they have already done can be averted.

Attention is turned in the next chapter to later educational developments in the country as a whole.

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QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. List the conditions which made public education such a discouraging problem to the people of the South after 1865

2. How did the presidential plan of reconstruction differ from the congressional plan? What effect did the political changes of those years have on public education in the Southern states?

3. What was the attitude of Southern leaders toward the education of the freedmen during those years?

4. Compare the educational provisions of legislation during congressional reconstruction with those of the ante-bellum period in any Southern state for (1) school support, (2) organization and administration of schools, (3) supervision of schools, (4) training of teachers, (5) examination and certification of teachers, (6) curriculum and textbooks.

5. Why was the question of mixed schools so generally agitated in the constitutional conventions and legislative bodies of reconstruction? Why was the fear of mixed schools in the South at the middle of the twentieth century such an issue?

6. Show how public education was promoted in any Southern state during the period of congressional reconstruction. In what ways was it retarded?

7. Show how it was natural that during the years immediately after the close of the war inaccurate statements should have been made concerning the extent of education in the South before 1860.

8. Why was the South looked upon as a promising field for missionary and educational effort after the Civil War? What effect did that attitude have on public education in the South then and later?

9. Why should the Federal government have aided the reorganization and development of public education in the South after the Civil War? Give reasons for your answer.

10. Explain the meaning of "the undoing" of reconstruction. Why were public schools involved and subordinated in this process no less perhaps than in the process of reconstruction itself?

11. Make a study of the work and influence of the Peabody Fund for education in the South.

12. Account for the fact that in many parts of the South public educational conditions were less wholesome in the late nineties than they had been at the outbreak of the Civil War.

13. How can the Southern states attain to national standards in education?

14. Read and report on Johnson's "The Wasted Land." What answers does he offer for the economic and social problems of the South?

15. Examine Odum's "The Way of the South." What factual material presented in that book impresses you especially?

16. Examine and report on Wilson Goe's "Research Barriers in the South." Also read and report on Edwin R. Embree's "In Order of Their Eminence," in the *Atlantic Monthly* for June, 1935.

17. Read the book by Swint, listed above. Compare the attitude of the North toward the South after 1865 with the attitude of the victors over the vanquished in the Second World War, especially toward education in the conquered countries.

CHAPTER XVI

LATER DEVELOPMENTS

Outline of the chapter 1. Although some of the obstacles to public education had been removed in part at least, the principles of a democratic educational system had not passed into wide practice by 1860.

2. The abolition of slavery, which had served to keep the public consciousness dull on public educational matters, made brighter the way for public schools.

3. The growth of population, improvements in agriculture and in transportation, the scientific revolution, the rise of cities, the changed status of women, and other forces also had wide social significance.

4. The work of Darwin also had influence on education in the United States.

5. Progress in improving the materials and methods of education was slowly made, but reforms were stimulated by Pestalozzianism, Herbartianism, Froebelianism, the work of John Dewey, and the new psychology.

6. The leaders in the new psychology were Cattell, Hall, James, and especially Thorndike, whose work and influence have been very large in American education. The traditional work of the school was changed by the influence of these workers and by that of Huxley, Spencer, and Eliot.

7. In the meantime, interest in the professional study of education was stimulated by research in the historical foundations of education, which was definitely encouraged by Monroe.

Before the Civil War, as was pointed out in earlier chapters, education in the United States was not generally looked upon as a public obligation. But encouraging progress had been made in some directions. The sectarian controversy which had been troublesome for so many years had grown less and less bitter, and the suggestion that a system of denominational schools be established to meet the educational needs of the time had been rejected. Public support of education had slowly increased through the use of permanent public-school endowments, or so-called literary funds, and by local and state taxation, the idea that public

education was public charity had gradually lost some of its earlier repute, and the idea of free education had slowly gained in almost all parts of the country. Localism in educational management had likewise weakened, although here and there it was still holding on tenaciously in 1861. Its hold was still felt in the control of the courses of study and of teachers, in the location and building of schoolhouses, and in the financial support of schools. City superintendents were developing slowly, but county superintendencies were nominal only, and state superintendents were still generally financial and statistical officers, often *ex officio*, who at the same time played as best they could the rôle of educational evangelists and crusaders. Agencies for the training of teachers were found in occasional institutes and academies and in a few normal schools which were little more than secondary schools. Public high schools were not numerous. Higher education, especially under private and denominational support and control, had greatly expanded, and state universities were slowly developing. Opportunity for graduate instruction had not yet been provided to any appreciable degree, and technological and professional education was also undeveloped. In general the idea of education as a public responsibility was gaining.

Conditions in 1860. The gains which had been made in extending the principles of public support and public control of education, in the training of teachers, in extending public educational effort upward, and in other features of a so-called democratic school system have been pointed out in earlier chapters. Although some if not most of the difficulties and obstacles in the way of a public-school system free and open alike to all had been solved (at least in part) and removed here and there during the closing years of the antebellum period, the principles of a democratic educational system had not passed into wide practice. Elementary education was not yet entirely free. State aid by general

taxation was still scanty, and state supervision of instruction was practically unknown. Compulsory-attendance legislation was only a theory and when considered at all, was generally viewed as undemocratic. In 1852 Massachusetts had passed what is generally classified as a compulsory-attendance act, which provided that children between the ages of eight and fourteen should attend school for twelve weeks annually, six weeks of this period to be consecutive. However, the many and very liberal exemptions of the law apparently made it inoperative. An act of New York in 1853 to provide for the care and instruction of idle and truant children was an even feebler gesture toward compulsory-attendance legislation, which for many years to come continued to be considered an invasion of the parental and family functions and rights. Only thirty of the states had enacted laws on the subject by 1897, and it was not until 1918 that all of them had done so. Like many other extensions of public educational effort now common in the United States, compulsory-education laws had to wait on the awakening of a livelier educational consciousness than the American public had yet developed.

The retarding effect of slavery. It is doubtful if any fact or force in American history had served longer and more definitely than the institution of human slavery to make and keep the public consciousness dull on matters of public education. Sanctioned by the centuries, not placed strictly under the ban by the Bible, winked at, if not encouraged, by the conquerors and colonizers of both Catholic and Protestant powers, slavery had become a tremendous social and political influence. It had been lawful in all the colonies, and from its introduction in 1619 the nauseating traffic in blacks snatched and stolen from Africa had grown extensive and strong. Few of the colonists saw irregularities in such a commerce. New England captains and owners of ships had ruthlessly and remorselessly sold slaves to Southern

planters, who had worked them profitably and without hurt to conscience. The Northern states, which contained about forty thousand negro slaves at the beginning of the national period as against seven hundred thousand in the Southern states, gave up the institution only after it seemed unprofitable and not from moral scruples.

With many preachers and other reformers pliant in the presence of profits in slavery, moral objections to it could not deepen so long as so many men and women shared in and lived by its material benefits. Massachusetts had, by implication in its constitution of 1780, abolished slavery; Pennsylvania, about the same time, had provided for gradual emancipation; the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 had prohibited slavery in the Northwest Territory; and New York had provided for the freedom of all children born of slaves after July 4, 1799, and in 1827 removed slavery entirely. Gradually its importance was reduced in the North, where commercial activities and industry developed; but in the South it grew stronger and stronger, particularly after the cotton gin appeared, although even in that section there was not unanimous agreement upon either the economic or the moral aspects of slavery. But the opportunity for profit which it promised to bring (and often did bring then) served quickly to remove any hatred of slavery and to develop opposition to any attempts to interfere with the institution, just as now somewhat similar conditions serve to perpetuate the system of farm tenancy, which gradually increases the landless multitudes and threatens to fasten peonage and peasantry on many of the rural areas of the United States. Slavery served to prevent the extension of public educational effort in the Southern states, where it helped to strengthen class distinctions, and it retarded the cause of free schools elsewhere. The abolition of the institution removed one of the most stubborn obstacles that the democratic theory of education ever encountered, for

schools could not be made fully free and universal in any American state so long as slavery existed.

Other forces favorable to education. By 1876 many of the problems which had their roots in the political reconstruction of the Southern states appeared solved, although, as was noted in Chapter XV, the vices, follies, and crimes of that grotesque burlesque of government, that "hideous orgy of anarchy, violence, unrestrained corruption, undisguised, ostentatious, insulting robbery," remained for many years political, economic, and social afflictions in those states which had formed the Confederacy. Even during the war, however, important economic and social developments had been taking place throughout the country which were widely significant in their effect on the daily lives of the people.

The growth of the population. Between 1870 and 1890 the population increased from about 39,000,000 to about 63,000,000, nearly 25 per cent for each decade, the Southern states showing a little less rapid increase, however, than the country at large. The changes in the economic life of the people appeared in the continuous shifting of the population. Some of the old sections, especially certain rural areas, lost population through the attraction of the rapidly developing cities and also by the expansion of the West. This was hastened by the public-land policy of the national government, which had early encouraged education and transportation, had stimulated settlement in the West, and under the Homestead Act of 1862 had adopted an even more generous system by which millions of acres were taken up by natives as well as by immigrants. Illinois, for example, attracted 1,300,000 people between 1870 and 1890, Kansas more than a million, and Nebraska almost as many. By the latter date almost one fifth of all native Americans were living outside the states in which they had been born.

The growth of agriculture. During these years agriculture was the dominant economic interest in the country

taken as a whole, although the Southern states were only slowly recovering from the devastation and stagnation which had followed four years of war and the riot of reconstruction. In the Middle West, however, the growth of agriculture was rapid through increase in population, through the effect of the Homestead Act, and through improvements in transportation and in farm machinery. In the meantime, manufacturing was rapidly developing, cities were growing, and wealth was rapidly being accumulated in the hands of a few. Immigration too was an influential factor during the quarter-century that followed the close of the war, reaching a total of 8,000,000 in the two decades from 1870 to 1890 and 789,000 in the one year of 1882. Its social effects were large and far-reaching. New problems arose which the school was soon called upon to solve. Educational conditions in the Southern states only slowly improved during the three or four decades after the war, but the effect of that struggle was less destructive on education in the Northern and Western states, where recovery was more quickly made through increased wealth, which furnished the economic basis for educational expansion, and through rapid urbanization, which provided the basis of collective action in education. Then as now the cities led the way in demands for better schools, and these were developed, if slowly, during the quarter of a century that followed the close of the war.

The scientific revolution. Achievements in the applications of science to the needs and the comforts of man continued during the years that followed the Civil War. One year after the close of that struggle cable communications were opened with England, and the Associated Press soon afterwards was able to have transmitted, at the cost of the tidy sum of nearly six thousand dollars, the speech which William of Prussia made to his parliament. The first continental railroad, opened in 1869, closed the age of the pony

express and the wagon train and made the exchange of goods between the United States and the Orient easy and quick. The telegraph, which Samuel F. B. Morse had made successful in the forties and which had already widely extended, trebled in mileage within a few years after the war. The reaper, invented by Cyrus H. McCormick in Piedmont Virginia in 1834, had been greatly improved, and a self-binding model appeared in 1867. Mowers, the improved harrow with adjustable teeth, corn-planters, cultivators, shellers, and other kinds of machinery greatly relieved the farmer's toil. C. L. Sholes, a printer of Milwaukee, working on a device for numbering the pages of a book serially, invented a machine which would write with fair accuracy and speed, and by 1874 Mark Twain was using a typewriter which he said was able to "print faster than I can write" and did not "muss things or scatter ink blots around." In the same year too Alexander Graham Bell was working on a mechanical device destined to transmit the voice by wire and to bring the world closer together. George M. Pullman had built a sleeping car which was immediately successful as a more comfortable means of travel, and George Westinghouse while yet in his early twenties had added to the safety of travelers by inventing the air brake for use on locomotives and railway cars.

The capacity of Americans for invention and increasing control over material forces continued very active. Each year showed an increasing number of patents issued by the Patent Office in Washington. By 1872 Thomas Edison had made it possible to send two messages over the same wire simultaneously. Five years later he had produced the phonograph. Electric lighting was in use by 1876, and electric traction a few years later. The refrigerator car had been built, the linotype machine soon appeared, and concrete and fireproof construction of buildings was being made. Automobiles, flying machines, submarines, wireless

telegraphy, dreadnoughts, high explosives, and a host of other mechanical inventions were soon to show how tools were lengthening the hand of man for good or ill.

American cities were growing by leaps and bounds through the rapid increase in material wealth, through the multiplication of mills and factories, and through the development of railways and other means of quick and easy transportation and communication. Almost a million people lived in New York, in 1870, three fourths as many in Philadelphia, nearly a third as many in Chicago, and more than two hundred thousand in Cincinnati. The output of factory-made clothes and shoes was increasing for the rank and file, who also soon "grew used to meats sent from Chicago, canned salmon from Oregon, and canned tomatoes from Maryland." Bread came increasingly from commercial bakeries, and fifty patents for washing machines were taken out in the latter half of 1868. As early as 1866 a thousand sewing machines were being manufactured daily, and shortly afterwards one hundred and eighty thousand were annually going into American homes at a cost of approximately \$60 each. Kerosene as a means of illumination brought many styles in lamps, numerous explosions, and much irritation from cracked chimneys. As the anthracite fields of Pennsylvania were developed, stoves for heating and for cooking multiplied. In the best city homes heating by steam or hot water was found, and artificial ice was becoming known. A factory in New Orleans as early as 1871 had a daily output of seventy-two tons, which reduced the price from \$40 and \$60 to \$15 a ton, "to the dismay of Northern ice importers." But not all suggestions of improvements were promptly favored. Even in New York proposals for improved transportation met with fierce opposition from vested interests. Efforts were made to prevent the construction of the first elevated railway by suits at court and by arguments from business interests and those who owned horse cars that the thing was

ugly, that horses would be frightened by the trains, and that the noise of the trains would destroy trade. Life everywhere outside the Southern states was marked in general by a prosperity and comfort hitherto unknown in the country. Public well-being was gradually increasing through the increase in material wealth, the applications of science, the increase of foodstuffs, and the development of manufacturing, transportation, and communication. These changes and improvements made the way of the school safer and easier by removing many of the obstacles in its way.

The battle against disease. Control of other forces was slowly gained also. For many years after the close of the Civil War man did not understand the causes of plague, malaria, yellow fever, typhoid fever, cholera, typhus, or dysentery; but within four or five decades he had come to understand how these infections were transmitted, and he was to know more and more about their germs. In a half-century he learned more about how to solve the most important problem in the way of his progress — the problem of his health — than he had learned in many centuries before. Pasteur's work in bacteriology and with serum inoculations and Lister's applications of antiseptics helped to lead the way for effective attacks on disease and made safer the way of surgery through lessening the dangers of blood-poisoning. Slowly Americans began to reap the benefits of advances which were being made in medicine and in surgery, and campaigns against diseases soon followed. Quarantine laws were enacted to stamp out or prevent diseases which threatened the country as a result of immigration. Malaria and ague, and the yellow fever which had so long scourged so many human beings, were traced to the mosquito. The draining of swamps, the oiling of stagnant water surfaces, and the use of screens followed. Serum for smallpox and preventives for hydrophobia and diphtheria were discovered and soon came into use.

Serious questions of health, of sanitation, and of general public safety arose out of the rapid growth of the cities, where poor housing and insanitary conditions and the slums brought new dangers. In 1888 James Bryce had pointed to the government of the cities as "the one conspicuous failure in the United States." Other writers and reformers persistently called attention to the urgent need for improvement. Gradually the progressive urban centers and the national government extended their functions to include sanitation and health activities and the prevention and control of disease. Attention was also drawn to the conservation of the health of children, and slowly the schools came to be used to diffuse information on the prevention and treatment of diseases and the building of health habits. Out of the growth of cities arose the need for recreational opportunities and vacations, and in time "the worthy use of leisure" was added as an objective of the work of the school.

Changed status of women. In addition to the enormous increase in economic wealth, the development of transportation and communication, the rapid growth of industry and the rise of cities, the steady development in agriculture, all stimulated and promoted by the scientific revolution, other factors and forces had social and political as well as economic significance. One of these was the change in the status of women. Opportunities for their higher education gradually increased after the Civil War, and along with those opportunities came demands from the women that they be allowed to enter certain occupations and professions which tradition had long closed to them. An effective means of propaganda for reform developed with the organization in 1890 of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, now the largest organization of women in the world. Before this date the agitation to give the ballot to women had been evidence of a growing interest in a more nearly

democratic control of government, and some progress had been made before the close of the century. In general, however, it was the West and not the East that looked with favor on woman suffrage. In the nation at large it was not gained, however, until the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920.

Slowly women were made legally more secure in rights to their property and their children. The English common law, which prohibited a married woman's ownership of property, was the rule in most of the states far into the last decades of the nineteenth century. By the close of the century, however, a large majority of the states had modified the laws on the subject in the direction of greater justice for women. The guardianship of children remained the privilege of the father in almost every state until the opening of the present century, and in some states his control was absolute. In 1902 the father and the mother shared equally in the guardianship of their children in the District of Columbia and in only nine states — Colorado, Connecticut, Illinois, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Nebraska, New York, and Washington. Reform came in some of the very conservative states only after public opinion had been rudely shocked by the injustice and danger of the ancient custom. In Massachusetts, for example, a mother, crazed by the declared intention of her husband to exercise his legal right and give away their six children, killed all of them. This tragedy, enacted in 1901, shocked the public conscience and led a year later to the passage of legislation in that state which made the mother equal with the father in the guardianship of their children. As women have come into freedom after freedom through reforms and the softening of laws which had so long discriminated against them, they have become leaders and patrons of education and other civic interests, and more and more have the rights of childhood come to be respected in this country.

Education and the theory of evolution. Probably the most powerful influence on education in the United States in recent years arose out of the work of Charles Darwin. His theory of evolution implied the antiquity of man and the antiquity of the earth on which he lived and died and alleged the mutability of species and development from simple to complex forms by natural causes rather than by divine interference. This theory, which came to be generally accepted before the close of the last century, not only clashed with the Christian Epic and shook faith in the Mosaic explanation of man and the world and all that in it is, but threw much light upon the educative process.

As early as 1860 two important reviews of Darwin's "Origin of Species" had appeared in the *North American Review* and the *New York Times*. Even Emerson had made the suggestion that the light which science was beginning to throw on things was a warning against the traditional view that the social order was fixed and unchanging. Asa Gray, one of the foremost botanists of his time, even before he retired from a professorship in Harvard University in 1873 had given Darwin comfort and courage in publicly championing the theory of evolution. Others followed, among them John Fiske, who wrote and spoke on the subject; E. L. Youmans, who founded the *Popular Science Monthly*, which became an effective means of publicity for the new theories; Charles W. Eliot, the gifted young president of Harvard who was unafraid of his mind; and Andrew D. White, the president of Cornell, whose brilliant work on the warfare of science and theology attracted wide attention in pointing out that advances in knowledge had always been opposed by bigotry, especially in religion. Meantime John W. Draper had surveyed the intellectual development of Europe and pointed bluntly to the dead weight of theological tradition.

Fierce were the attacks against the new theories and theorists and those who bravely or timidly shared their views.

But science gained ground steadily if slowly, more and more triumphantly, and often with increasing arrogance, as it claimed to take from theology and theologians the one real explanation "to the riddle of the universe." In the process of the bitter conflict wider impetus was given to the advancement of intellectual interests. The usefulness of the struggle was in no way greater perhaps or more definite than the change that it was to work in the attitude toward child life and in the emancipation of children, who had so long suffered from the blindness and brutality of a discipline encouraged by the cruel doctrine of original sin. This change, which was made slowly, had wide educational significance.

Methods and materials. Progress in the improvement of methods and materials of instruction was also slowly made. The typical public school as late as 1860 and for many years afterwards probably resembled very closely the typical public school of a much earlier period. Houses were rudely constructed, lacking in comforts and often even the decencies of living. The materials of instruction were narrow and traditional if not medieval in character, and methods of teaching were generally harsh, often brutal, and almost always wasteful. As a rule the teachers were untrained and worked away blindly at their tasks without supervision or direction. Little was known of the nature of child life. Children were looked upon as unregenerated; human nature was considered bad; the "will" of the child must be broken, and discipline, whether formal or informal, was the fashionable doctrine of the time and was sanctioned by theology, by the little psychology that was known, and by ancient scholarship. The more disagreeable and difficult the school task, the more dismal the surroundings of the school, and the sterner the teacher, the better for the child, who was not allowed either in school or out to know the joys of living. The relation between the school and life out-

side was not yet recognized, and the conception of education as growth or development, had not yet appeared. The doctrines of education considered sound today had to wait on forces that had not yet made themselves felt.

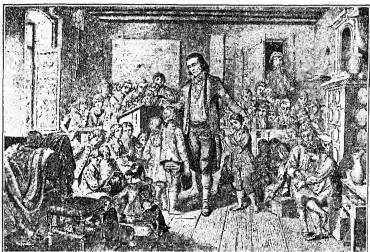
Pestalozzianism. During the latter part of the nineteenth century educational reforms were advanced in large part by influences from Europe. One of these was the work of



JOHANN HEINRICH PESTALOZZI

Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827), who had been inspired by Rousseau's "*Émile*," one of the most influential books of the eighteenth century. Pestalozzi, probably more than any other educational reformer, laid the basis for the modern elementary school and helped to reform elementary-school practice. He held that education, which he defined as the "natural, progressive, and harmonious development of all

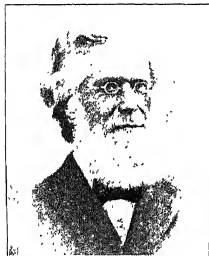
the powers and capacities of the human being," is the chief means of social reform and human improvement, that it is a natural process and not an artificial one, and that instruction should be based upon the natural development of the instincts, capacities, interests, and activities of the child. A knowledge of the nature of child life and of the development of the child's mind he believed to be of fundamental importance in instruction. He maintained that the education of the child can be aided or retarded by the methods employed in teaching. Pestalozzi was a strong advocate of universal education, and urged the use of the immediate



PESTALOZZI'S SCHOOL AT STANZ

The lower picture is probably nearer to the reality

environment or experience of the child as the most valuable means and materials of his instruction. Observation and investigation instead of memorizing and class discussion, and thinking instead of reciting, characterized his work, which contained many suggestions for present-day pedagogy and educational reform. He also placed much emphasis upon strict but kind discipline, a "thinking love," which was one of the



EDWARD A. SHELDON

most prominent principles of his educational theory.

Pestalozzi conducted experimental schools in Switzerland which attracted educational leaders in both Europe and America for twenty-five years. Pestalozzianism was first introduced into the United States through early American educational journals and reports on European schools (see Chapter VIII), as well as through the work of Joseph Neef, one of Pestalozzi's instructors,

who came to this country in the early years of the nineteenth century and taught in Philadelphia, Louisville (Kentucky), and New Harmony (Indiana); but it was most widely diffused after 1860, largely through the work of Superintendent Edward A. Sheldon of the Oswego, New York, schools, whose methods and materials of instruction, based on Pestalozzi's principles, were widely advertised, popularized, and imitated. The Oswego Board of Education invited a group of prominent educational leaders to examine the schools of that city in 1862, and they made a favorable report at the meeting of the National Teachers Association the follow-

ing year. Sheldon read a paper on the subject of object-teaching. In 1864 the association named a committee to investigate, and in 1865 it made a favorable report upon the Oswego system. Normal schools, which developed rapidly after the Civil War, often adopted the Pestalozzian principles and helped to spread them throughout the country.

The principles which Pestalozzi advocated had a wide influence on industrial education for juvenile reform and the manual-labor school (see Chapter XIII) and on object teaching and oral instruction in arithmetic, geography, language, drawing, writing, reading, elementary science, and music. This new method of object teaching soon led definitely to instruction in elementary science, one of the earliest courses in the subject being organized and published in 1871 by Superintendent William T.



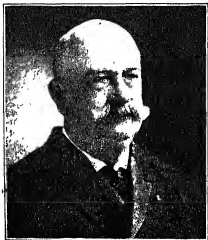
WILLIAM T. HARRIS

Harris of the schools of St. Louis. Instruction in geography was also greatly improved as a result of Pestalozzianism and the work of Colonel Francis W. Parker, who, as principal of teacher-training institutions in Chicago, was an aggressive advocate of better methods in elementary education. His book "How to Teach Geography," which appeared in 1889, had a wide influence.

But not all Pestalozzi's principles and methods were universally approved in the United States, and some of them were attacked here in a manner resembling, if more vigorous, that of Herbert Spencer, who described the Pestalozzian

verbal formalism in England as "the well-conceived but ill-conducted system of *object lessons*." Pestalozzianism also ran to seed in the so-called Grube method of teaching arithmetic, which carried "objective illustration to an extreme" according to Professor David Eugene Smith's smashing criticism of the method in 1900, which helped to turn the teaching of arithmetic back to the best ideas of Pesta-

lozzi. The absurdity of the Grube method, which was widely fashionable in this country in the latter part of the nineteenth century, had also been pointed out by Professor John Dewey as early as 1895. But Pestalozzi's principles had a wide and useful influence in helping to develop in this country, as in Europe, a better conception of child life and to provide more sensible materials



FRANCIS W. PARKER

and methods for the instruction of children.

Other influences which helped to change educational theory and practice in the United States came from the work of two of Pestalozzi's disciples, Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) and Friedrich Wilhelm August Froebel (1782-1852), whose traditions and training were more intellectual and scientific than those of their celebrated master.

Herbartianism. Herbart spent most of his life as student, tutor, and university professor; he gave lectures on pedagogy and published books on the subject. He also conducted a pedagogical seminary for the scientific study of educational problems, in connection with which he main-

tained a practice school at the University of Königsberg. With Herbart the chief purpose of education was to develop personal character and to prepare for social usefulness. He maintained that interest was the most important element or means in good teaching; and building upon Pestalozzi's theory, that the duty of the teacher is to provide new and real experiences for the pupil, he elaborated a teaching method which emphasized interest, the adaptation of instruction to the past experiences and the present attitude of the pupil, systematic and methodical treatment of facts or subject matter, and correlation, or the unification of subjects or studies. The principle of correlation was greatly emphasized by his followers, who developed it further into what came to be known as concentration. Out of Herbart's method, which



JOHANN FRIEDRICH HERBART

was based upon a strange psychology worked out by himself, grew the culture-epoch theory (formulated by Tuiskon Ziller, a professor in the University of Leipzig, and others) and the five formal steps of instruction. Like many other worthy principles of pedagogy, stated before and since his time, the principles of Herbart have tended toward rather extreme formalism and often even toward exaggeration in the hands of his followers and interpreters. This formalism or exaggeration has been more or less evident in a degeneracy in the applications of the doctrine of interest in the schools of the United States, which, next to the land

of its birth, has witnessed a larger influence by Herbartianism than any other country.

Here a wide and even a fervid enthusiasm began to develop for the Herbartian principles during the last decade of the nineteenth century. The wave of interest gained force largely through a few eager Americans who had studied at the University of Jena in the eighties before opportunities for graduate instruction in the universities of this country had been provided to any attractive extent. Among these students was Charles de Garmo, who was at Jena in 1886. Dr. Garmo served as professor of education in Cornell University for many years, published "The Essentials of Methods" in 1889, and served as the first president of the National Herbart Society (organized in 1892), and as editor of its publications, which, during the early years of the organization, gave space almost exclusively to strictly Herbartian subjects. Other influential Herbartians who were active in the work of this society, in publication, and in lecturing, and who helped to spread the principles of Herbart were Charles A. McMurry, of the Illinois State Normal University, who had studied at Jena in 1887, and his brother, Frank M. McMurry, a student at Jena in 1889. In 1897 the two brothers published their "Method of the Recitation," and Charles A. McMurry followed his "General Method," published in 1892, with many other books which treated of method in connection with most of the elementary subjects.

The Herbartian influence enriched the elementary-school curriculum by the introduction of historical, story, and literary material and literary classics. It brought a broader conception of history than had yet been current, which is reflected in the reports of important committees representing educational and historical organizations. It led to the substitution of real literature for the conventional readers which had so long dominated the elementary curriculum, and

it encouraged correlations between geography and history, between arithmetic and geography, and between arithmetic and constructive work. The application of psychology, imperfect as it was, to educational practices was one of Herbart's important contributions.

Although Herbart began a valuable movement for the improvement of educational theory and practice, not all his principles have continued to enjoy full approval. Some of them have been revised or rejected. For example, John Dewey in 1896, in a significant paper before the National Herbart Society, made so effective an attack upon the Herbartian doctrine of interest as to drive the word "Herbart" from the name of the organization, which was changed in 1902 to the National Society for the Scientific Study of Education. Out of the controversy which in the meantime had waged over the doctrine of interest developed the concept of motivation. This word, which implies purpose on the part of the child, has since had many synonyms, some of them as much misunderstood perhaps and often as formal as Herbart's doctrine of interest that led to the academic warfare which still rages and in which abstract ghost continues to just with abstract ghost.

Froebelianism. The educational principles of Froebel, another enthusiastic follower of Pestalozzi, expressed themselves most definitely in the kindergarten movement. The influence of his educational theories, which were based upon a vague philosophy of symbolism, just as those advocated by Herbart were built upon a strange psychology, appeared also in the manual-training movement and the use of constructive activities in the school, activities encouraged by foreign exhibits at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia in 1876. His doctrines of "self-activity," "creativity," "motor activity," and "self-expression" (terms which suggested Rousseau's influence), the idea of self-realization through social participation, or coöperation, and the prin-

ciple of learning to do by doing had rather wide popularity in the United States. "To learn a thing in life and through doing is much more developing, cultivating, and strengthening, than to learn it merely through the verbal communication of ideas," maintained Froebel, who emphasized the social aspects of education as fully as he emphasized the principle of self-expression.



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FRIEDRICH FROEBEL¹

Notwithstanding the superficial faults of his educational theories, many of which lay in the mystic symbolism of his philosophy, Froebel has had a very important influence upon education in this country. Many types of present-day practice and some of the recent educational experiments reveal his principles, which appeared in the work of Francis W. Parker and may be seen in the work of John Dewey's experimental school set up in

connection with The University of Chicago. The kindergarten, however, is probably the most definite and concrete contribution made by Froebel to the United States, where it has been developed more widely and thoroughly than in any European country. This type of school work was early encouraged by Superintendent William T. Harris of St. Louis, and by school authorities in Boston and some other cities. First established mainly by philanthropy and private associations, the kindergarten was encouraged as a

¹ Perry Picture Company, Malden, Massachusetts.

part of public-school systems in many cities between 1880 and 1900. But modern psychologists and educators have tended to reject Froebel's symbolism, however, and as a result the Froebelian kindergarten theories and practices have been modified in recent years. Dewey pointed out in the *Elementary School Record* in 1900 that it is impossible for the child to experience the mystic symbolism of a thing as Froebel believed and expected that he could, and in 1903 Thorndike, in "Notes on Child Study," asserted that there was no valid evidence whatever "to show any such preposterous associations in children's minds between plain things and these far-away abstractions." For a later development in educational procedure, originating in the work of Maria Montessori at Rome, rather extravagant claims were once made. Her method emphasized the individual freedom of the child and the use of practical activities, but in most respects it was similar to the method advocated by Froebel and did not advance beyond him.

Work and influence of Dewey. The work of Professor John Dewey, through his writings, through the experimental school which he conducted at The University of Chicago from 1896 to 1903, and as professor in Columbia University, probably had wider effect upon educational theory than any other influence. For many years he was among the foremost interpreters of the social and industrial changes

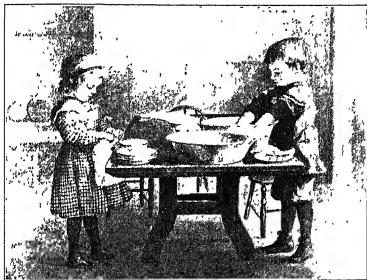


JOHN DEWEY

which the world witnessed in the latter part of the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth century. Probably more definitely than anyone else he stated an educational philosophy best suited to the needs of a changed and changing civilization.

Dewey showed the necessity of connecting the work of the school with life outside the school and of giving children and youth an intelligent understanding of the world in which they live. He held throughout his conspicuously influential career as philosopher and educational leader that real education must be based upon the nature of the child; that knowledge is a part of one's intellectual equipment and resources, a means of interpreting life and an instrument of control; that the mind is a process, a growing affair, and that its development depends upon the exercise of its function and requires constant stimuli from social agencies; that one learns to do by doing — to swim by swimming in water, to talk by talking to people about subjects which interest him and them, and to think by seeking to solve real problems and not by stupid and formal exercises in logic. In "How We Think" (1909) Dewey gave almost classic expression to the principle that all learning takes place in attempts to remedy or remove the inadequacies in past experiences, and that it should become the process of making use of past experiences as resources in developing the future; and in "School and Society" (1899) and in other writings he insists that "the school cannot be a preparation for social life except as it reproduces the typical conditions of social life." This and other principles which he set forth served to modify and improve school practices not only in this country but in many other countries as well. Dewey's own account of the work of his experimental school, which stimulated similar experiments elsewhere and had a wide influence upon educational practice, shows how an effort was there made "to carry into effect certain principles

which Froebel was perhaps the first consciously to set forth. Speaking in general, these principles are: 'That the primary business of the school is to train children in coöperative and mutually helpful living. . . . That the primary root of all educative activity is in the instinctive, impulsive attitudes and activities of the child, and not in the presentation and



AFTER LUNCHEON IN DEWEY'S KINDERGARTEN IN 1900¹

application of external material. . . . That these individual tendencies and activities are organized and directed through the uses made of them in keeping up the coöperative living already spoken of, taking advantage of them to reproduce on the child's plane the typical doings and occupations of the larger, maturer society into which he is finally to go forth; and that it is through production and creative use that valuable knowledge is secured and clinched.''' By making a study of industries an important part of the elementary curriculum

¹From the *Elementary School Record* (University of Chicago Press).

Dewey sought to provide the opportunities for social participation, for motor expression, and for self-expression.

The new psychology. Pestalozzi expressed the desire and aim "to psychologize education." He did what he could, little as it may have been, to satisfy his desire and to reach his aim; and his influence upon educational materials and methods in the United States cannot be questioned, although he knew little psychology. Herbartianism and Froebelianism extended beyond him, and in this country stimulated wide interest in the improvement and reform of the materials and methods of instruction. But the science of psychology had not yet appeared, and many years were to pass before such techniques were devised as permitted any degree of that accuracy and objectivity which modern psychology now claims for itself. In fact, as late as 1879, when Wilhelm Wundt set up in Leipzig, Germany, the first psychological laboratory, the fashions in psychology were set from the armchairs of metaphysician, the philosopher, the theologian, and other pleasant literary ramblers. Through Wundt's effort, however, detailed and more nearly accurate studies began to be made of the psychological processes and mechanisms found in the hearing, taste, smell, and vision, memory, reasoning, judgment, and learning of the so-called normal individual.

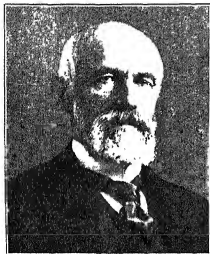
Among Wundt's early students were two young Americans, James McKeen Cattell and G. Stanley Hall, who returned to the United States and in the early eighties established psychological laboratories. Far-reaching has been the influence of this pioneer work, out of which developed the movement that has given this country a creditable place in experimental psychological research. Few are the American colleges that do not now have departments of psychology and fewer still are those that are not respectable and modish enough to boast of a laboratory. In 1890 William James, a professor in Harvard University, published his "Principles

of Psychology," which immediately became a great success, served to increase the fame of the brilliant author, and pointed the way to many problems for study in the field. Among other subjects in which his work stimulated research was that of the original, unadulterated, unalloyed, and undecorated nature of man, which is still a fertile region for exploration or gleanings, although it has been worked into increasingly since 1913, when Edward L. Thorndike, a professor in Teachers College, Columbia University, published, after several years of ingenious and careful experiments with animals and children, his "Original Nature of Man."

This book contained a rather impressive list of "original tendencies," inborn capacities, or instincts, as they had been called by James, under whom Thorndike had studied at Harvard and to whose memory Thorndike dedicated the significant work. But both James's list of instincts and Thorndike's list seemed a trifle long to some of the psychologists who followed. William McDougall, a professor at Harvard (later at Duke University), published a shorter list which attracted notice, and later others tried to make the list of instincts still shorter. As a result of this combat of scholarship and research the word "instinct" became less fashionable than in earlier days, and the word "drive" was occasionally substituted for impulses with which human beings were believed to be born. But, whatever the name given to these innate tendencies and whatever innate tendencies these may be, man now knows infinitely more than ever before why he does as he does, and the study of his nature has led most parents, teachers, and other educational workers more definitely to the belief that human behavior can be modified by nurture and the influences of environment; and for this reason, if no other, education came to be accepted as a more useful social agency than it was ever before considered. Psychology, throwing light upon the

manner by which habits are formed and broken, also gave the American public an increased faith in the wonder-working power of good schools.

G. Stanley Hall. The name of Hall, who was professor of psychology in Johns Hopkins University from 1881 to 1888, and president of Clark University from 1888 until 1920 and professor of psychology there, is associated with a type of



G. STANLEY HALL

psychological work which is somewhat metaphysical in attitude and Herbartian in assumption. Hall's studies and those of his students were generally conducted in part through the questionnaire method and often neglected the use of observation and experimentation as a basis of evidence, and frequently invited severe criticisms of his approach to the field of child study, of his interpretation of original tendencies, of his applica-

tion of his theories to teaching, and of his defense of the culture-epoch and recapitulation theory. Some of his doctrines were mercilessly attacked by critics who were more scientific in their procedure and relied less on speculation and more on fact to support their own views. However, Hall helped to break down the old scholastic psychology which had so long held sway. He was one of the earliest scholars to connect psychology with the evolutionary theory and one of the first to bring the scholarship of German psychologists to bear upon the subject in this country, and he was probably the first American psychologist of repute to

countenance some of the theories of the young Viennese physician Sigmund Freud, around whose views a bitter controversy has raged. Hall's published studies of children began in the early eighties and came to most significant expression in the publication of "Adolescence" in 1904. This work stimulated numerous investigations in the psychology of children and adolescents and opened up many important questions which continue to receive attention. Among Americans his work increased the belief, which is probably stronger here than in any other country, that education must be based upon psychology, and that psychology is a field worthy of scientific study.

William James. William James also attacked scholastic psychology. The contribution of his "Principles of Psychology" to education as well as to

general psychology lay in its rejection of the old faculty psychology and in the objective treatment of the educational significance of instincts, or natural tendencies, the meaning of habit, and such topics as interest, imitation, discipline, the transfer of training, and others which bore the marks of the modern approach to these subjects. Although some critics reproached James for a "planless and unnatural" order of the chapters, he stoutly maintained that he followed what seemed to him "a good pedagogic order" in consequence of what seemed to be "pedagogic necessities." In 1892, in response



WILLIAM JAMES

to the request of the Harvard Corporation, James gave to the teachers of Cambridge, Massachusetts, "a few public lectures on psychology." These were given later to other audiences of teachers. In 1890, when he came to publish the lectures under the title of "Talks to Teachers," he weeded out the "analytical technicality," which experience had taught him that his audiences had relished least, and left unreduced the "concrete practical application," which they had cared for most, thus again revealing the objective point of view. This work has since had a tremendous influence on schoolroom practice. Throughout there is emphasis upon, or suggestion of, the necessity for experimentation and study, work that has been advanced more definitely by Thorndike—perhaps the most influential name connected with modern psychology—than by any other worker in the field.

E. L. Thorndike. Author of numerous scholarly books and hundreds of learned articles since he published (in 1898) his "Animal Intelligence," his doctoral study,—of great importance because it marked the real beginning of the science of animal psychology, established "the technique for comparative psychology," opened up many new problems and indicated methods for their solution, and gave to general and educational psychology a new point of view,—Thorndike's contribution to education and to psychology has been so large that the history of either subject could not be written, as James, McKen Cattell has said, without giving prominence to his name.

After listening to one of Thorndike's class exercises in Western Reserve University (to which he had migrated after receiving the doctorate at Columbia University), Dean James E. Russell promptly offered the young scholar an instructorship in Teachers College, Columbia University. The position was as promptly accepted. At that time "neither the term nor the subject of educational psychology

had been created," says Russell, to whom Thorndike was known principally "as a student who had made a study of the behavior of monkeys," a work which seemed to the distinguished administrator (who was to become in no small degree responsible for Thorndike's notable contributions to the scientific study of education) to be good preparation for "a study of the nature and behavior of children." Thorndike's subsequent influence and career are now acknowledged by all students of education. "No school is uninfluenced and no humanistic science is unaffected by his labor," says Dean C. E. Seashore of the University of Iowa; and Russell himself says of the interview which brought Thorndike back to New York: "No hour of my life has been more profitably spent."



E. L. THORNDIKE

As early as 1901 Thorndike "hinted that we ought to turn our view of human psychology upside down. . . . When this is done we shall not only relieve human mentality from its isolation and see its real relationships with other forms; we may also come to know more about it, may even elevate our psychologies to the explanatory level and connect mental processes with nervous activities without arousing a sneer from the logician or a grin from the neurologist." His labors have led psychology to such a place among the sciences. His contributions have been made not in the field of animal intelligence only; they have been large in the

fields of heredity, in the process of learning, child psychology individual differences, statistics, mental tests and educational measurements, curriculum construction, adult learning, education in general, and educational administration

Early in his work Thorndike expressed courage and confidence in the ultimate effect of studies of heredity upon human welfare. "Surely it would be a pitiable thing," he said, "if man should forever make inferior men as a by-product of passion, and deny good men life in mistaker devotion to palliative and remedial philanthropy. Ethics and religion must teach man to want the welfare of the future as well as the relief of the cripple before his eyes and science must teach man to control his own future nature as well as the animals, plants, and physical forces amongst which he will have to live. It is a noble thing that human reason, bred of a myriad unreasoned happenings, and driven forth into life by whips made æons ago with no thought of man's higher wants, can yet turn back to understand man's birth, survey his journey, chart and steer his future course, and free him from barriers without and defects within. Until the last removable impediment in man's own nature dies childless, human reason will not rest."

The wide movement of thinkers and workers in all fields of human effort toward acceptance of the principles of individual differences has received impetus from the experiments of Thorndike, who has continued, however, to advocate the improvement of the instruments of measurement and to warn against any of their "unreliabilities," which must be removed "by vigorous experimentation." A tireless and zealous exponent of intelligence tests and measurements, he has never denied their defects, and would probably be the last to claim that sound criteria of intelligence exist. Certainly he would maintain that what such tests measure is often unknown. And he would probably not deny that their revelations are too often not under-

stood by hundreds of school-teachers and administrators and other social workers, notwithstanding their glibness in the use of the language of tests and their facility in administering them.

Thorndike's interest in and contribution to American education is significantly revealed in improved school administration, the real basis for which he laid in psychology. Reforms and improvements in the classification and progress of children and youth in elementary, secondary, and higher education, the homogeneous grouping of children, provisions for the exceptional child, differentiated courses of study, and many other progressive administrative practices, including the financial support of schools, have their roots (in part at least) in the results of his work. The application of the statistical method to problems in the field of educational administration has increasingly widened since the publication of his "Mental and Social Measurements" in 1904. Surveys of city, county, and state school systems — a movement which continues to grow — may also be traced in part to his influence.

His researches in the psychology of learning have led to critical appraisals of the values of subject matter in the curriculum and to a more scientific choice of materials of instruction. Largely through his work the old theory of mental discipline and the transfer of training fell into general disrepute. He is chiefly responsible for the statement of the principles of learning which today have such wide application in sound schoolroom practice. Out of his work have developed methods and devices for measuring achievement and for encouraging improvement in learning, principles for the organization of materials of instruction, and the idea that science can and should undertake to determine objectives in education. Not only has he arrived at and stated principles, but he has been diligent in his effort to translate them into actual practice.

Thorndike's first scientific research was in animal psychology. His work as a student at Harvard, where he was encouraged by James, and at Columbia, where he was aided by Cattell, was "a decided innovation" in the field of animal intelligence and learning. Both the methods which he used and the conclusions which he reached in his early as well as his more recent studies aroused wide interest. The experimental devices which he introduced soon became standard equipment in the study of animal psychology and have been employed in numerous studies. Laboratories have been established in colleges and universities, programs of psychological meetings have been crowded with papers on the subject, special magazines have been founded to publish the results of experiments, and interest in the subject has led to feverish activity throughout this country and in parts of Europe. His open-mindedness, his passion for accuracy, and his respect for truth make him "sit down before fact as a little child" and follow humbly "to whatever abysses Nature leads," as Thomas Henry Huxley once advised Charles Kingsley. This attitude, without which one can learn nothing, has served to save the scholar and the fruits of his scholarship from absurdity. Although Thorndike has some imitators who shine for the most part only by reflection and who sometimes fill the educational house with smoke and not light, and numerous interpreters who in attempting to apply to schoolroom practice the laws which he has formulated have often enslaved where he would emancipate, the results and methods of his work have so far stood the test of time and controversy.

His contribution to American education is not confined to his scientific studies, however, conspicuous as these have been for distinction. The educational principles which he has announced are likely to stand until scientific ingenuity devises subtler instruments than he has employed to pry into the secrets of nature. Thorndike is conspicuous in the

optimism of his philosophy. Throughout his scientific studies he exhibits faith in the improvability of man and in the idea of progress. To him education is the art of human life, and that art "is to change the world for the better: to make things, animals, plants, men, and one's self more serviceable for life's ends." He maintains that the aims of education should be "to make men want the right things, and to make them better able to control all the forces of nature and themselves that they can satisfy these wants. . . . The study of human life teaches that the world is more than a place where you eat and sleep and endure for the sake of a few cheap, animal pleasures, that it is full of great issues, unselfish motives and heroic deeds." Men in whom "service for truth and justice has become the law of life need not despair of human nature, nor pray for a miracle to purge man of his baser elements. They are the sufficient miracle; their lives are the proof that human nature can change itself for the better — that the human species can teach itself to think for truth alone and to act for the good of all men."

Change in the content of education. Long before psychology had become the master science in education, demanding materials and methods suitable to the varying abilities and needs of children and changing much that had long been traditional in the work of the school, the tendency to introduce the natural sciences into the content of education had been apparent. This movement had been encouraged by scientific discoveries and inventions in the latter part of the nineteenth century and by other forces discussed in preceding chapters. The practical results of science made a knowledge of natural sciences appear necessary to modern life, and as these became more systematized there was an increased demand that they be included in the curriculum. Advocates of science urged, in answer to the arguments of those who held to the prevailing doctrine of formal

discipline, that emphasis in education should be upon content rather than upon method.

When Americans were hearing of Darwin for the first time they were also hearing of Herbert Spencer, Thomas Henry Huxley, and John Tyndall, all three of whom visited and lectured in the United States in the seventies and eighties and gathered many disciples. Their books had wide sale here. In "What Knowledge is of Most Worth" Spencer raised in such a fresh fashion the question of the purpose of education as to bring wide influence to his work. "Before there can be a rational curriculum, we must decide which things it most concerns us to know. How to live? — that is the essential question for us. Not how to live in the mere material sense only, but in the widest sense. To prepare us for complete living is the function which education has to discharge; and the only rational mode of judging of any educational course is, to judge in what degree it discharges such function." He held that the sciences furnish as preparation for complete living the knowledge of most worth. In "Science and Education" Huxley also pointed out the educational values of the sciences. He maintained that "education is the instruction of the intellect in the laws of Nature," under which term he included "not merely things and their forces, but men and their ways; and the fashioning of the affections and of the will into an earnest and loving desire to move in harmony with those laws." The claims of the sciences as materials of instruction in the schools were urged also by Edward L. Youmans, Charles W. Eliot, and many others. Through his advocacy of the elective system and the use of modern subjects in the curriculum of the schools and colleges Eliot had a very large and direct influence upon American education. The study of agriculture, the mechanic arts, and the natural sciences was prompted generally also by the Morrill Act of 1862 and the second Morrill Act, of 1890, which provided for the

establishment and aid of the land-grant colleges. This scientific movement showed close relation to the psychological movement which was to become the basis of so many important changes in educational theory and practice. But it has not solved all the educational problems; in the "new education" movement itself appear the roots of some which are noted in Chapter XVII.

The historical approach.

Interest in the professional study of education was increased by research and publication in the historical foundations of modern education between 1900 and 1940. Although the history of education was generally found in the course of study for the professional training of teachers in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the materials of instruction in that subject were very scanty and some of them,

measured by present-day standards, were of doubtful scholarship. Franklin V. N. Painter's "History of Education" had appeared in 1886 and Samuel G. Williams's "History of Modern Education" six years later, but both books were for the most part accounts of educational theories and were based chiefly on the work of the German Karl von Raumer and on materials which Henry Barnard had translated into English. Gabriel Compayré's "History of Pedagogy" had been published in English in 1886, but it gave considerable emphasis



CHARLES W. ELIOT

A lifelong student, who devoted his ideas to the advancement of American education

to conditions and needs in France. There had been published by the United States Bureau of Education between 1887 and 1902, under the editorship of Professor Herbert B. Adams of Johns Hopkins University and under the title "Contributions to American Educational History," accounts of educational development in many of the states, but most of these were dissertations for the doctorate at Johns Hopkins.

In 1888 Professor Richard G. Boone of Indiana University published his "Education in the United States." In 1904 Professor Edwin Grant Dexter of the University of Illinois published his "History of Education in the United States," which was "offered more as a report of progress than as a final word upon the subject." Although the book contained a mass of information, it was written principally from secondary materials and was defective in its neglect of the economic and political forces in social development and in the lack of organization and interpretation. Few of these early materials were especially valuable as guides in the study of social and educational history.

The work of Paul Monroe. Interest in the historical foundation of education was first stimulated most definitely by Professor Paul Monroe of Teachers College. In 1901 Monroe published his "Source Book in the History of Education for the Greek and Roman Period," in 1904 his "Thomas Platter and the Educational Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century," and a year later his "Textbook in the History of Education." In these books, in *A Cyclopedia of Education* (a work of five large volumes which he edited and published between 1910 and 1913, by far the best of its kind that had ever appeared), and in his courses at Teachers College, Monroe applied to the study of education the rigid principles of historical research and demonstrated the value of the historical approach to contemporary educational problems. He set a high standard for graduate study and helped to establish for students of education an ideal of

accurate investigation which encouraged respect for high standards in other fields of educational work. The fruits of his own scholarship appeared in the work of many students in whom he stimulated energetic interest in research and publication. The dissertations of forty-six of the one hundred and ninety-one persons who received the doctorate at Teachers College between 1899 and 1921 were in "the field represented by the work of Professor Monroe," wrote Dean Ellwood P. Cubberley of Stanford University, whose "Syllabus of Lectures on the History of Education," first published in 1902, "owed something of its value to the teaching of Monroe." Cubberley's "Public Education in the United States," published in 1919 and revised in 1934, and his "History of Education" and "Readings in the History of Education," which appeared in 1921, are valuable additions to the materials of instruction in the history of education. Other contributions that reveal Monroe's direct or indirect influence include books by Frank P. Graves, who wrote widely on the subject; the writings of Edward H. Reiser and I. L. Kandel of Teachers College, Stuart G. Noble of Tulane University, and Robert F. Seybolt of the University of Illinois; and numerous monographs and less pretentious studies by many other scholars in this country and other countries. Much of the solid knowledge now available to students of the historical development of American schools is the fruit of researches stimulated and encouraged by Monroe, whose scholarship could not be confined or restrained in Teachers College, which he had helped so notably to make and which in a large sense had helped to make him. He served to give to the historical and comparative study of education a fresh significance in the professional training of school teachers and administrators and to remove the suspicion that it is a pretender in the field of teacher-training by helping to make it an ally of science rather than a competitor.

This chapter has indicated some of the forces which had a significant effect upon education after the Civil War. Among these influences were the abolition of slavery, the growth in population, developments in agriculture and in industry, the rise of cities, the changed status of women, and increased scientific knowledge. Other influences upon education came to this country from abroad through Pestalozzianism, Herbartianism, and Froebelianism. The principles of each of these new educational methods were more or less widely applied throughout the United States. The Herbartian doctrines, especially the "doctrine of interest," were very popular for three or more decades. Dewey's work, the work of the leaders in the new psychology, and interest in the professional study of education also served to change the work of the schools. As a result of the forces and facts of history described in this chapter, American education took new directions. Significant tendencies appeared and new problems arose. A brief consideration of some of these tendencies and problems is given in the next chapter.

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QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Contrast public education in the United States in 1860 and in 1950 in (1) organization and administration, (2) means of support, (3) materials and methods of instruction, (4) training of teachers, (5) compulsory-attendance and child-labor legislation, (6) public high schools, and (7) higher institutions of learning.

2. In what way had slavery prevented the growth of the democratic principles of education?

3. What economic changes and scientific developments took place in the United States after the Civil War which had definite influence upon education? Show how education was affected by such changes.

4. Consider and point out the relation between the control and the prevention of disease and enlarged educational opportunity.

5. What was the social and educational significance of the changed economic and political status of women?

6. Show how the theory of evolution threw light upon the educative process. What has been the influence of Spencer and Huxley on American education?

7. List the principles of Pestalozzianism. How did Pestalozzi define the aim of education? In what respect is the definition adequate for the educational needs of the present? In what respect is it inadequate?

8. Show the channels through which Pestalozzianism came into this country.

9. Criticize the principles of Herbartianism. Show how Herbartianism was spread to the United States.

10. What contribution did Froebelianism make to American education?

11. Read the article by Brickman, listed above, and report on the wide educational influence of John Dewey.

12. What do you understand by the "new psychology"? How does it differ from the old psychology?

13. Point out the contributions made to psychology and education by Hall, Cattell, James, and Thorndike.

14. Show how schoolroom practice has been affected by the work of Thorndike.

15. Discuss the educational influence of Monroe. What is the value of the historical approach to education?

16. Read and report on Herbert Spencer's "What Knowledge Is of Most Worth?" (1859) and compare his statement of the purposes of education with the "Seven Cardinal Principles" of the National Education Association (1918) and "The Purposes of Education in American Democracy," pronounced by the Educational Policies Commission in 1938.

CHAPTER XVII

TENDENCIES AND PROBLEMS BEFORE 1930

Outline of the chapter. 1. Proposed extensions of public educational effort show new tendencies and also give rise to new problems in American education, with the result that facilities and opportunities for the scientific study of education are now available throughout the country.

2. School surveys for determining accurately the effectiveness and needs of school systems have greatly increased and have been widely applied in American education.

3. Educational research and discussions are encouraged by professional associations and educational journalism, and the use of standard tests and measurements of mental ability and educational achievements has also greatly widened and become a significant movement.

4. Although the United States did not early make conspicuous progress in the field, interest in adult education has gradually increased.

5. One of the significant phenomena in American educational history appears in the creation and use of educational foundations or trusts, representing about a billion dollars of private wealth.

6. Interest increased also in the movement to gain national aid for general education in the states, a movement which had many advocates as well as opponents.

7. Education in the strictly rural areas, the education of the negro, the education of foreign-born citizens, and the inequalities in American education present perplexing problems.

8. The period from 1910 to 1930 witnessed many experiments and proposed reorganizations of elementary, secondary, and higher education, and public concern for the care of physical, moral, and mental defectives, delinquents, and dependents became keener.

9. Probably the most conspicuous features of public education in the United States are its organization and administration, which have assumed the proportions of a huge machine.

10. Although the American school system reveals many weaknesses, it continues to hold the confidence of the people, whose increased efforts for public education are tributes to their robust faith.

The principles of American education — free and universal, publicly supported and controlled, compulsory, and

nonsectarian — were defined in Chapter I, and the practical arrangements that have been established upon them were also described there. In succeeding chapters the story has been related of the controversies and struggles which were waged over those principles in an effort to have them practically applied. Similar, if not always so bitter, were the controversies and struggles waged over proposed public educational extensions. These revealed not only new tendencies in American education but also fresh problems.

Recent extensions of educational effort. Out of the industrial and electrical revolutions and the phenomenal growth of the factory system new industrial problems arose; and the school, called upon to help in their solution, undertook to give industrial training. This type of educational work had begun under private agencies before the close of the past century, but later it found a place in public-school systems. Evening schools, part-time schools, and continuation schools also developed rapidly, especially in the urban communities. Commercial education expanded greatly. Emphasis was given to agricultural education, which first received particular attention under the provisions of the Morrill Act of 1862, which set the land-grant colleges on the way of their development, and to vocational education, which has been rather generously encouraged by the national government since the passage of the Smith-Hughes Bill in 1917. This legislation created a Federal Board for Vocational Education and provided for Federal aid to promote instruction in agriculture, trades, home economics, and industrial subjects, and to encourage investigations and reports on the needs in these fields. After 1933 the educational activities of the Federal government became numerous: CCC, WPA, PWA, NYA, Advisory Committee on Education, National Resources Planning Board, and other agencies. There is a growing tendency also to throw safeguards around the children of selfish or irresponsible parents by strengthening

child-labor and compulsory-school-attendance legislation, and by providing aid for poor widows whose children should be in school. Citizenship classes for foreign-born adults, efforts to remove the menace of illiteracy among the native-born, and numerous other activities in adult education are other extensions of the principles of public education, made for the purpose of increasing the happiness and elevating the character of the people.

The study of education. Rather wide provision of facilities and opportunities for the scientific study of education is now made through the organization of schools and departments of education in the colleges and universities and through other means. Only slight attention had been given to the subject before the close of the nineteenth century, and the chairs or departments of pedagogy which had been established by that time were often frowned upon by the older departments and were generally grudgingly recognized. But with its establishment in 1889 Clark University began to give considerable attention to psychology and education, and Teachers College, organized in 1898 as a professional school of Columbia University, was given rank with the schools of law, medicine, and applied science in that institution. These developments, together with the creation of the School of Education of The University of Chicago and of the Graduate School of Education of Harvard and the organization of schools and departments of education in many other public and private colleges and universities, are evidences of the increasing attention that the professional study of education came to attract throughout the country from the turn of the century.

From humble professorships, the original purpose of which was largely to give some undergraduate instruction in methods of teaching and managing schools, the institutional study of education has developed more and more into graduate agencies for research and investigation and for the

publication, diffusion, and interpretation of the results of scientific studies in education. The development of educational administration, the establishment of educational standards, and the construction of standard tests and measurements and of curriculum, or courses of study, and educational engineering (commonly known as school surveys) have grown out of this movement during the past four decades. In many other ways is the college and university study of education justifying itself, even though its work and often the professors who direct it are sometimes held under suspicion by other members of the academic household. However, schools of education are likely to grow in academic respectability and in public esteem as they increase their standards of work and their own demands for thoroughness and excellence.

The school survey. School surveys, for the purpose of determining accurately the effectiveness and needs of city, township, county, and state school systems, have also greatly increased in recent years and are widely used. This procedure in educational administration, which has demonstrated its practical usefulness by leading to reforms and improvements in the organization, administration, supervision, support, and control of schools, is not, however, entirely new. The "personal-estimate type of survey report," usually made by one or two people, and general investigations of school conditions had been used in this country before the Civil War. Even state educational commissions were created for purposes of survey during the ante-bellum period. Some of the surveys which have been made even in recent years are of a very general nature; but as more objective standards of educational measurement have been established, a more nearly scientific form of educational engineering has developed and increased in importance. Although the recommendations of surveys are not always accepted and promptly acted upon by governing educa-

tional authorities, nevertheless the survey method is increasingly used by both public-school systems and private institutions as an intelligent guide for the diagnosis and treatment of educational weaknesses.

Surveys have been very numerous since 1911, when Professor Paul H. Hanus of Harvard University made a brief and general report on the conditions and needs of the schools of Montclair, New Jersey. A report on educational conditions in Baltimore, made in the same year by Elmer Ellsworth Brown, Commissioner of Education of the United States at that time, Professor Ellwood P. Cubberley of Stanford University, and Superintendent Calvin N. Kendall of the schools of Indianapolis, with the assistance of Dr. Milo B. Hillegas and Dr. Harlan Updegraff, who were then of the staff of the United States Bureau of Education, was the first "descriptive and comparative type of school survey." A study of the public-school system of Boise, Idaho, was made in 1912 by Professor Edward C. Elliott of the University of Wisconsin, Professor George D. Strayer of Teachers College, Columbia University, and Professor Charles H. Judd of The University of Chicago. In 1911-1912 an extensive statistical study of the New York City school system was directed by Hanus, with the assistance of many educational experts, and a survey of the Cleveland, Ohio, school system was made in 1915-1916 under the direction of Dr. Leonard P. Ayres, who was at that time director of the departments of education and statistics for the Russell Sage Foundation. In later years Abraham Flexner of the General Education Board directed a study of the school system of Gary, Indiana. These early surveys, although experimental, were important not only for the immediate use made of them, but because out of them came valuable suggestions for future surveys. The report of the schools of East Orange, New Jersey, by Professor Ernest C. Moore of Harvard University in 1911; the survey of the schools of

Bridgeport, Connecticut, made in 1913 under the direction of James H. Van Sickle, who was then superintendent of the schools of Springfield, Massachusetts; a study of the schools of Portland, Oregon, by Cubberley and a staff of experts in 1913; a study of the schools of Springfield, Illinois, by Ayres in 1914,—treated the strong and the weak features of school administration in these cities in such ways as to afford direction for many similar subsequent surveys. Techniques for surveying city school systems had become fairly well developed by 1916, and since that time the survey has come into very wide use.

The application of the survey method has also been applied increasingly to many county and state school systems through the aid of such organizations as the Carnegie Foundation, the General Education Board, and the United States Office of Education, schools of education in public and private colleges and universities, and other agencies. A survey of educational conditions and needs in Vermont was made as early as 1913 by Elliott, Hillegas, and Dr. William S. Learned (a member of the staff of the Carnegie Foundation) at the request of an education commission of that state. Three years later Flexner and Dr. Frank P. Bachman, of the General Education Board, made for a state commission of Maryland a study of public education in that state, which resulted in marked improvements. Since the Maryland study and report, surveys have been made of educational conditions in many states, including Delaware, North Carolina, Kentucky, Indiana, Virginia, and Florida. Numerous educational surveys have been made by the Institute of Educational Research, Division of Field Studies, under the direction of Strayer, since its establishment at Teachers College in 1921. Bureaus or departments of research were established in city and state school systems, in schools and departments of education in colleges and universities, and in teachers' colleges. This development led in 1916 to the

organization of the National Association of Directors of Educational Research (now known as the Educational Research Association) for the purpose of promoting research in educational administration, supervision, and teaching. The survey movement has helped to change school administration from a business of guesswork to one that is at least approximately scientific in theory if not always so in actual practice.

Professional associations and journals. Educational research and discussions are being widely encouraged also by many professional associations which have developed rapidly during the past four decades. In the changes that have taken place in the philosophy or the science or the practice of teaching and managing schools, the National Education Association has had considerable influence. This organization was chartered by Congress in 1906, after having been organized in 1871 as the National Educational Association; it grew out of the National Teachers' Association, which had been established in 1857. Through the activity and discussion of this association a department of education was established in the national government in 1867; since that time it has urged the establishment of a national university, has initiated important investigation, and has published valuable reports on subjects dealing with many forms of educational effort — elementary and secondary education, teacher-training institutions, teachers' pensions, rural-school problems, college-entrance requirements, libraries, and hosts of other subjects. It is now a vigorous advocate of Federal aid to general education in the various states through the transformation of the United States Office of Education into a department, with rank in the President's cabinet. The services of the organization continue to be rendered by its numerous departments, the strongest of which is the American Association of School Administrators, and through the activities of the Educational Policies Commission.

Other associations which promote the study and discussion of educational problems include the National Society of College Teachers of Education, the National Society for the Study of Education, the Educational Research Association, the National Association of State Universities, the National Conference on Educational Method, the National Council of Education (a section of the National Association for the Advancement of Science), the American Council on Education, the American Association of Teachers Colleges, the National Association of Colleges and Departments of Education, the Association of American Colleges, the Association of American Universities, and numerous state and local organizations, all devoted to the improvement of education. Of the making of journals and publications representing the work of these and other educational organizations and associations, running into the hundreds, there is no end.

Tests and measurements. The use of standard tests and measurements of mental ability and of educational achievement has greatly widened during the last two decades and has become one of the significant movements in American education. This attempt to solve educational problems by the application of the statistical method had its origin in the work of Francis Galton (1822-1911), an Englishman whose studies of heredity and allied subjects between 1869 and 1889 developed important statistical principles and suggested the measurement of human traits. It was further stimulated by the work of two Frenchmen, Alfred Binet and Thomas Simon, who published in the early part of the present century a series of standardized mental tests and a scale for the measurement of intelligence. In this country the subject had engaged the attention of Professor James McKeen Cattell of Columbia University in the last decade of the nineteenth century, and he soon won recognition for his studies. It also excited the interest of Thorndike, who, as early as 1895, in a course on measurements under Professor

Franz Boas of Columbia, had struggled with statistical methods and had found them "new and hard . . . to learn." But the mastery of the matter by Thorndike, who has been called "the father of the movement," has never been seriously questioned. By 1902 he was offering at Teachers College a course on the "application of psychological and statistical methods to education," probably the first course of its kind given in the United States. In the catalogue description was the promise to deal, among other things, "with means of measurement of physical, mental, and moral qualities, including the abilities involved in the school subjects, and rates of progress in various functions." Similar courses appeared at The University of Chicago in 1908-1909, at Leland Stanford Jr. University a year later, and at some other universities during the next decade. Since the introduction of the Binet scale into this country several important revisions and adaptations have been made by Professor Lewis M. Terman of Stanford and others. A great advance in the use of intelligence tests was made during the First World War, when they were so constructed as to be easily administered to groups instead of to individuals one at a time. Since the impetus thus given to this means of measuring intelligence the number of intelligence tests has greatly increased and their use has widely extended; and since the publication of Dr. C. W. Stone's "Reasoning Test in Arithmetic" (1908) and Thorndike's scale for the measurement of handwriting (1910), educational or achievement tests have so greatly multiplied that they are now counted by hundreds. They are of all kinds and descriptions and cover practically all school subjects. The literature on the subject of tests and measurements is voluminous and continues to grow.

But when the movement began it aroused a storm of protest. Not only did the work of Dr. Joseph M. Rice, who is considered the real inventor of the comparative test

in America, not meet with the approval of the educators of the time, but the results he presented made him the target of their vigorous attacks. He had tested the spelling ability of thirty-three thousand school children, and his findings appeared in 1897 in *The Forum*, which he edited between 1897 and 1907. They revealed, among other things, that children who had spent thirty minutes a day on spelling for eight years did not spell any better than children who had spent only half that time on the subject. Educators and the educational press denounced as "foolish, reprehensible, and from every point of view indefensible, the effort to discover anything about the value of the teaching of spelling by finding out whether or not the children could spell. They claimed that the object of such work was not to teach children to spell, but to develop their minds!" The report of Dr. Rice's findings in spelling and other investigations was received with derision by the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association, and at its meeting in 1912 that body of educational leaders voted by a small majority, after a heated discussion, against the measurement movement. Two years later, however, a committee on tests and standards made to the organization a favorable report which was adopted by a majority vote. In the meantime Thorndike's interest in the subject continued to grow, and the subsequent development of the movement has been due in large part to his own work and that of many able students whom he has guided.

By the aid of the scientific method in education, of which tests and measurements are important parts, school administration has undergone radical changes in recent years. Through this method attempts are made to apply the mathematical attitude to the study of education. Efforts are made to measure with an irritating exactness and certitude differences in native abilities, character, and conduct, and to substitute the objective and precise methods of measure-

ment of ability and achievement for the subjective and inexact methods. Increased efforts are also made to adapt courses of study to the needs of children and to make teaching effort and supervisory control more effective. The purpose of the movement is to replace opinion and guesswork in education by knowledge and evidence.

The movement has had rapid and feverish growth and has led to extensive "testing programs" throughout the country. Every properly organized city school system now has its research division, and it is a very backward provincial county school system which does not periodically turn upon the children, even in the remote rural regions, "batteries" of tests, which annually multiply in number. The programs of the meetings of psychologists have probably given to the discussion of intelligence tests more space than has been permitted any other single topic. Tests and measurements have also had a peculiar fascination for schoolmen and teachers. The superintendent of schools who does not know or who neglects to make use of these devices is considered quite out of date, and his usefulness as an educational leader is generally questioned. The teacher or supervisor whose vocabulary lacks such cryptic words or terms as "mean," "median," "mode," "coefficient of correlation," "probable error," "mean deviation," "standard deviation," and "I. Q." is rapidly becoming a relic of an earlier and unscientific age. The movement has widened, its productivity has increased, and through it have come into education greater general clearness and definiteness of purpose. However, even their most enthusiastic supporters admit the crudeness and imperfection of the tests and measurements and dare not predict their limits.

Adult education. Compared with certain European countries, among them Denmark, England, and France, the United States has not made notable progress in adult education, although something more than a beginning has been

made. Agencies for guiding youth through the period between the time of leaving school and the time, a few years later, when they become fairly definitely fixed in the courses which they are likely to follow throughout life, include public free evening schools, vocational and technical schools, continuation schools, coöperative schools, and numerous educational agencies provided by such organizations as the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, and the Young Men's Hebrew Association. Public libraries are also widening their educational influence. Under the leadership of the American Library Association, an organization made up of the librarians of the nation, with an energetic and effective executive office, and state library commissions, the library is rapidly becoming "a dynamic institution of education," and books are more and more considered the agencies of learning and the library an integral part of the educational organization of the community.

Through university-extension work adult education is also widely extended. Study centers are organized, lecture courses are provided, traveling exhibits and traveling libraries are established, correspondence study is conducted, and in many other ways the usefulness of the university is extended beyond the campus. Since the beginning of this work by the University of Wisconsin about 1892 and the organization of an extension division in that institution about 1906, the university-extension idea has made its way into most of the large institutions, in which scores of thousands of adult students are annually enrolled.

The many recent developments in adult education provide abundant evidence that in this as in many other fields of educational effort time-honored theories have been upset. For centuries it was generally believed that old people could not learn; but the ancient and traditional assumption that one's years of learning pass with the years of adoles-

cence was scientifically tested by Professor Thorndike in extended experimental studies which he conducted in connection with the American Association for Adult Education, which was created in 1926 and sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Thorndike's conclusions that one may at least double the years of learning, "that persons under fifty should seldom be deterred from trying to learn anything which they really need to learn by the fear that they are too old," and that lack of opportunity or desire rather than lack of ability is the chief reason "why adults so seldom learn a new language or a new trade" or reach any extensive achievement of knowledge or skill, were reported to a meeting of the association in 1927, and a year later his findings were published in a nontechnical form in his "Adult Learning." The evidence increases that adults can learn and that they are eager to do so. Probably 175,000 people register annually in university-extension classes. It is estimated that more than 3,000,000 are trying to improve their education beyond the training which they originally received. Private correspondence schools, which have reached such astonishing proportions in the United States, annually carry on their books 2,000,000 men and women who pay every year fees that aggregate \$70,000,000. Approximately 1,500,000 new students are enrolled every year by these agencies, which seek quick and easy profits from gullible men and women whose needs should be met by more reliable and sincere agencies of adult education. The extension of effort into the field of adult education is an important matter and should be considered a legitimate function of the state.

Educational foundations or trusts. One of the most significant phenomena in all American educational history is the creation of large private funds to supplement and assist institutions and agencies engaged in educational and public-welfare work. Since 1867, when George Peabody, a native

of Massachusetts but then a resident of London, established a fund which was later increased to more than \$2,000,000 and wrote, "This I give to the suffering South for the good of the whole country," more than a score of trusts have been created representing about a billion dollars of private wealth and dedicated to the promotion of education and public well-being. All except \$8,000,000 of these huge sums have been given since 1900.

The work of five of these foundations has been confined principally to the Southern states. The Peabody Fund, established for the purpose of encouraging and promoting public schools in "those portions of our beloved and common country which have suffered from the destructive ravages, and not less disastrous consequences, of civil war," as the donor expressed it, was not only the earliest manifestation of a spirit of reconciliation on the part of a Northern man toward the Southern states, but it was also one of the largest educational blessings which ever came from the outside to that section of the country. It aided in the establishment of complete state school systems, in removing hostility to the public education of the negroes or prejudice against it; it encouraged the work of training teachers, and in its final dissolution the fund became a part of the endowment of the George Peabody College for Teachers, which was chartered in 1909 and opened four years later. It also became a source of assistance in the establishment of schools of education in universities in the Southern states.

The Slater Fund of \$1,000,000 was created in 1882 by John F. Slater, a New England manufacturer, "for the uplifting of the lately emancipated people of the Southern states and their posterity, by conferring on them the blessings of Christian education." Normal schools and industrial education for the negroes in the South have been aided materially from this foundation. In 1908 Miss Anna T. Jeanes of Philadelphia left the sum of \$1,000,000 to Swarth-

more College, located near that city, on condition that the institution should abandon intercollegiate football forever. The college refused a bounty tied with such strings, and through that circumstance still another means of education was brought to the negroes of the Southern states. Under the provisions of the bequest, if the fund was refused by Swarthmore it was to be used for the development of education and better living conditions among negroes in the rural sections of the South. The following year Miss Caroline Phelps Stokes left by will the sum of \$1,000,000 as a fund, which was incorporated in 1911 as the Phelps-Stokes Fund, to promote, among several other worthy objects, "the education of negroes, both in Africa and the United States." The fund has been used to prepare and publish a study of the facilities for education of the negro, to support fellowships at the University of Georgia and the University of Virginia for the study of the negro, and to provide grants to encourage other activities in the interest of the negro and of better race relations. In 1915 Julius Rosenwald of Chicago created a fund which bears his name to aid in the construction of modern schoolhouses for the negroes in the rural sections of the Southern states.

Useful as these foundations have been, they do not compare in the extent of their influence with the large endowments created by John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, Mrs. Russell Sage, and Mrs. Stephen B. Harkness. The Rockefeller foundations include the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, the General Education Board, the Rockefeller Foundation, established between 1901 and 1914 and richly endowed, and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial created in 1920 in memory of Mr. Rockefeller's wife and also given large sums. The amounts which constitute these endowments total almost \$400,000,000 and "represent the greatest individual gifts the world has ever known." Sound business principles are employed in their

administration, and the value they have rendered to the causes of medical research, education, the welfare of women and children, public health, and to multitudes of other worthy objects is beyond calculation. Immensely valuable also have been the Carnegie endowments (the Carnegie Institution of Washington, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and the Carnegie Corporation of New York), which were created between 1902 and 1911 and provided with rich resources "to encourage, in the broadest and most liberal manner, investigation, research, and discovery, and the application of knowledge to the improvement of mankind," to provide retiring allowances for college and university professors, to promote the cause of world peace, and to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States by aiding technical schools, institutions of higher learning, libraries, scientific research, hero funds, useful publications, and the like. Before he created these endowments Carnegie had given much money to establish libraries in this country and in the British Empire. He also established and liberally endowed the Carnegie Library and the Carnegie Institute at Pittsburgh and contributed in many other ways to the advancement of human welfare. To the foundations and other agencies which he established and aided he gave approximately \$300,000,000.

The Commonwealth Fund, created in 1918 by Mrs. Stephen B. Harkness and endowed with \$40,000,000 or more, engages in many useful activities, including work for children's health and welfare, prevention of delinquency, the promotion of mental hygiene, and educational research; it undertakes also to promote international good will through the support of fellowships for British students at American universities. Other very important trusts include the Russell Sage Foundation, established in 1907 by Mrs. Russell Sage

in memory of her husband and endowed to the extent of \$15,000,000 or more, which is concerned chiefly with the improvement of social and living conditions; the Milbank Memorial Fund, representing approximately \$10,000,000 and designed "to improve the physical, mental, and moral condition of humanity, and generally to advance charitable and benevolent objects," which was created in 1905 by Elizabeth Milbank Anderson in memory of her parents; and the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, established in 1925 by Mr. and Mrs. Simon Guggenheim in memory of their son and endowed with \$3,000,000 to be used "to improve the quality of education and the practice of the arts and professions in the United States." The Duke Endowment was established by James B. Duke in December, 1924, with the sum of approximately \$40,000,000, to which the provisions of his will added considerable resources upon his death in October, 1925. One of the aims of this endowment, the assets of which are estimated at nearly \$80,000,000, was the transformation of Trinity College at Durham, North Carolina, which the Duke family had already generously supported, into Duke University. Other purposes included subsidies to Davidson College in North Carolina, Furman University in South Carolina, and the Johnson C. Smith University, an institution for negroes, at Charlotte, North Carolina; aid to orphanages for white children and for colored children in the Carolinas and to hospitals in those states; provision for the care and maintenance of retired ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in North Carolina, and their widows and orphans; and the construction and support of Methodist churches in the rural sections of that state.

The usefulness of educational foundations in the past and their opportunities for further service in the advancement of learning and in the increase of human welfare are not often questioned, but fears of the dangers which are said to

lurk in the size and power of such huge sums are frequently expressed. It has been said that gifts from such sources tend to stop those from individual philanthropists and perhaps even make legislatures indifferent to their responsibility to provide liberally for the support of education. The fear is sometimes expressed that the funds of the foundations may be used to limit freedom of thought and action. Among other fears are those which seemed to be in the minds of the regents of the University of Wisconsin in 1925 when they voted nine to six to reject thereafter any gifts, donations, or subsidies "from any incorporated educational endowments or organizations of like character." By refusing to make the resolution retroactive, however, the regents saved to the institution a gift of \$12,500 from one of the Rockefeller endowments, to be used for medical research,—a donation which had brought severe criticism from certain interests in the state, including the State Federation of Labor, and had led to this action. Previously the university had also accepted \$218,000 from one of the Carnegie endowments for teachers' retiring allowances. Charges were made during the argument on the resolution that the funds of some of the large foundations were acquired by methods that should be condemned, that the money was therefore tainted, and that the Standard Oil Company had spent money for lobbying during a recent session of the Wisconsin legislature. In the history of foundations, moreover, support may be found for such disquietude. However, the governing bodies of most of these trusts are usually conservative. They are chosen because of their fiduciary responsibility and are allowed large freedom in the use of the funds for worthy objects. The funds of most of the large endowments are not held in perpetuity, and the trustees may use the principal as well as the income from it.

Although some of the foundation funds, whether good money or tainted, have been wasted through unintelligent

administration or through the incompetency of those selected to use them, there are a great many more examples of intelligent administration and competent use. To cite one case, a grant of \$8000, used through the University of Toronto, enabled experts to attack the baffling problem of diabetes and to develop insulin; and to cite another, the campaign in behalf of medical education, begun by one foundation and continued by another for a decade or more, has been of incalculable value to public welfare. Examples of assistance given to other good causes run into the thousands. The amount of aid which goes from these foundations to the general purposes of colleges and universities is steadily on the decrease, but that which goes to support special projects is gradually increasing. Any important research problems which are indorsed by representative scholars are likely to receive aid from the resources of one or another foundation, no matter what the source of the projects. These projects may originate anywhere: in the alert mind of an individual scholar or an organization of scholars, in a college or a university, or in a foundation itself. The primary consideration with the foundations, which have developed rather skillful techniques in giving, is that the need that the project is intended to meet be real rather than fanciful. The educational foundations have afforded to ripe scholars and research workers such opportunities as could not be provided otherwise and have been the means of encouragement and training to prospective scholars. About fifteen hundred scholars and research workers are supported every year by aid from these sources. When the public comes to understand more fully the purpose of these agencies — to advance knowledge and not to mold opinion — the fear of their unsocial use is likely to disappear.

National aid to education. The high illiteracy rate and educational backwardness of the Southern states, due in part to the large negro population, their economic desolation,

their rural isolation, and the alleged uncertainty of proper educational sentiment in that section of the country, aroused rather wide interest in national aid to education shortly after the Civil War. As early as 1870 attempts were made in Congress through the Hoar Bill to establish a national system of educational support and control, but the proposed measure failed to pass. Another somewhat similar attempt was made through the Blair Bill, which was introduced in 1881, passed the Senate in 1884, 1886, and 1888, but never gained sufficient support to pass the House, although the division of votes on the bill did not follow sectional or party lines.

In the 1920's, 1930's, and 1940's vigorous attempts were again made toward national aid to education in the states. The extent of illiteracy, the problems of negro education and of immigrant education, the backwardness of education in the strictly rural areas, and the unwholesome conditions revealed by the army draft during the First World War were pointed to as national educational liabilities. One in every six men examined during the First World War was rejected as unfit for military service, making a total of more than 1,340,000 who had physical defects, most of which were preventable. These men were under thirty-two years of age and supposedly in the prime of life. In the army draft it had been shown that one man in every four could not write a letter home or read a newspaper in English. This menace of illiteracy, which resulted in immense economic waste, came to be considered a national problem, to be met successfully only by national effort. The Second World War also disclosed distressing conditions of illiteracy and physical defects. Studies showed that the yearly economic loss through preventable disease and death was nearly two billion dollars, that child labor continued to be a perplexing problem, that many teachers in the United States had less training than is generally required of teachers by advanced nations, and that

scores of thousands of children between the ages of seven and thirteen years were not attending school of any kind. In 1938 the report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education revealed many inequalities in education in the United States. That report stimulated interest in Federal aid for education, but as late as 1950 the Congress had not enacted many of the recommendations of that Committee into law.

Education of the negro. Negroes, who constitute about 10 per cent of the total population of the United States, have been a part of the national citizenship since the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States in 1868. Most of them live in the Southern states; these states had been devastated by war and humiliated by congressional reconstruction, which had given the negroes (who were for the most part in a state of sheer illiteracy) civil and political rights that they then were unprepared to use properly and safely. Since that time the difficult problem of the education of the negroes has been largely a responsibility of the Southern states. With the adoption of separate schools, which was an imperative necessity and became the policy in the Southern states and the District of Columbia, an additional educational burden was laid on the slender educational resources of that section of the country. Although progress has been made in the solution of this problem, achievements in negro education have not been distinguished, and in it many inequalities and discriminations still appear. In spite of the fact that illiteracy among negroes declined from 90 per cent in 1860 to a little more than 16 per cent in 1930, the number of illiterates is still very large, especially in the Southern states, as the material in Chapter XV shows. The problem of negro illiteracy constitutes about two fifths of the entire problem of illiteracy in the United States, and increases the educational task in the Southern states.

Rural education. The report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education in 1938 showed that education in the strictly rural areas presented persistent problems. There were found irregularities, inconsistencies, and inequalities by which scores of thousands of rural children were discriminated against and denied the educational opportunities the constitutions of their states guarantee to them. Few features of public education in the United States furnish sources of such depressing reflection as the rural schools. Most of the unwholesome conditions in rural education have been familiar to and widely discussed by educational leaders in this country for many years, but many of the problems remain unsolved. Many of the buildings are unsightly, insanitary, and poorly equipped, and too often they are in charge of teachers who are very deficient in training and educational outlook — spiritless, uninspired, and uninspiring — and who grope their way clumsily and aimlessly through the routine of giving and hearing lessons without any professional guidance or supervisory assistance whatever. Improvement is being made slowly in the progressive states, but the roots of the problems of education in the rural sections run back to the ancient and persistent devotion to and confidence in localism in education. The old district system, which has been so long maintained by law and strengthened by tradition, still commends itself to wide popular approval because of the deep democratic color it is believed to wear. It persists, too, by means of the continued chaos of county government, which is probably the least creditable institution in many states, the least efficient and the most wasteful — the jungle of American democracy.

In the existence of such conditions and in the unequal needs and unequal abilities of different states, the advocates of national aid to education see a national responsibility. It is argued that only by such assistance can equality of educational opportunity be provided. In the Morrill Act

of 1862, the second Morrill Act of 1890, the Smith-Lever Act, the Smith-Hughes Act, the Smith-Sears Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1918, and the Sheppard-Towner Act of 1921 (see Chapter I) precedents were seen by many people prominent in educational and other public affairs for the proper participation of the national government in general education in the states. The opponents of the movement, on the other hand, view Federal aid to general education as a sinister menace to democratic institutions.

Experiments and reorganizations. The attempt of the American people to provide universal and free education by public support and under public control has filled the schools with children. Between 1900 and 1920 attendance continued to increase in the elementary schools (and then began to decline); it increased greatly in the secondary schools and in the higher educational institutions; more and more the doors of educational opportunity were being opened to the masses of the people. The lengthening of the school term, the strengthening of compulsory-school-attendance and child-labor laws (which have not, however, yet reached in all the states a high level of proper enforcement), and the increase in economic wealth, whereby children and youth were enabled to remain longer in school, started new and pressing problems in elementary, secondary, and higher education. The new education and its doctrine of individual differences, and the conception that real education must be based upon the nature and needs of the child, brought some of these problems into prominence. Old assumptions began to give way to new aims in the educational process, and in an effort to solve the problems that arose out of these changes much experimentation began to be done and new plans and schemes continued to be offered.

In Gary, Indiana, a reorganization appeared about 1907 for the purpose of developing into one scheme a variety of activities, including work, study, and play, so as to provide

for better teaching, for improved administration and supervision, and for better care of the children. The Gary plan, or platoon system, was adopted or copied by many cities throughout the country. Plans for the more flexible grading and promotion of children, experiments to break the "lock-step" which seems inevitable in the rigidly graded system and to enable children of exceptional ability to move more easily and safely through school work, and plans by which laggards could be coached by assistant teachers also were developed here and there. Among other experiments which attracted more or less notice at various times were the Pueblo plan, the Cambridge plan, the Winnetka plan, the Batavia plan, and the Dalton plan. Reorganizations and novel methods appeared in differentiated and parallel courses of study, supervised study, the "socialized recitation," the "problem method," the "project method" (which was widely popularized through the writings and teaching of Professor William H. Kilpatrick of Teachers College, Columbia University, and others), and in other unconventional applications of the doctrines of "interest," "freedom," and "creativity," which sometimes tended toward shadowy and even bizarre, if alluring, devices. But the most vocal advocates of these reorganizations and methods (which have their opponents also) saw in them the means of adjusting the work of the school to the abilities and interests of the pupils.

Novel arrangements have made their way into secondary and higher education. The high-school curriculum has been reorganized, new courses have been introduced, eliminations and substitutions have been made, optional and elective courses have been provided, new types of high schools have been established, the junior-high-school movement has gained wide acceptance, extracurricular activities of wide variety have become the vogue, and experiments in student self-government have been made after the manner of many

colleges. In these higher institutions also, as was mentioned in Chapter XIII, many new remedies are being prescribed, and some are being used, for ills which have become alarming. One of the most serious of all the problems of higher education is the loss by the end of the first year of one fifth or more of the three hundred thousand freshmen who now annually enter college, and the loss of from 50 per cent to 60 per cent between the freshman and senior years. Faulty standards and methods of admission, the inability of students to adjust themselves to the college environment because of their own limitations or the imperfections of college life and methods, and perhaps also the fads which have appeared out of the "new education" and its doctrine of "freedom," are listed among the causes of the present plight. Improvement of these distressing conditions is being attempted by experiments varying in degrees of hopefulness all the way from the orientation and "freshmen week" program of recreation and good fellowship — one purpose of which is to "reduce the pangs of homesickness and create a wholesome grown-up feeling" — to thoughtful effort made here and there to improve the instruction of the freshmen. The purpose of these and other reorganizations, methods, and devices is to effect an economy in time and to prevent such waste as results from faulty grading, inflexible organization, ineffective supervision, and indifferent instruction, and to give proper attention to the individual pupil.

The work of repair. Public concern for the care of defectives, delinquents, and dependents — physical, moral, and mental — has also become keener in recent years. Industrial and reformatory schools have been established to take care of juvenile delinquents; the deaf, the blind, the feeble-minded, the tuberculous, the incorrigible, and the crippled are discovered by the state, which undertakes to care for and to educate them. The medical examinations made in connection with the draft during the First World War disclosed an

alarming amount of physical defects among the young men of the nation, and since then a new emphasis has been given to medical inspection and health supervision in the schools. Thus new burdens have been placed upon the educational and welfare agencies of the American public, which seems to be growing more humanitarian and benevolent toward the unfortunate. The noble movement to catch up and repair the dropped stitches in the social fabric constantly gains strength throughout the country, but there is also encouragement in the nobler signs, which occasionally appear, of interest in the prevention of weakness.

The huge machine. Probably the most conspicuous features of public education in the United States at the present time are its organization and administration. The sums which the various states expend annually on the support of schools are enormous, but by no means out of proportion to the economic ability of the wealthiest nation the world has ever seen. The phenomenal development of physical plants and equipment for schools cannot be matched in all educational history. Every year hundreds of millions have been spent in the construction and maintenance of school-houses, millions spent in experimentation on curriculum construction and on materials of instruction, scores of millions invested in the preparation, publication, manufacture, and distribution of textbooks, which are naturally of vast commercial importance in a country with low standards for the preparation and reward of its teachers. But in the immense enterprise of public education, which bears so many mechanical features, appear some of its weaknesses.

Whether American educational leaders are primarily interested in bigger and better schoolhouses, in tests and measurements, in the revision, alteration, and enlargement of curricula, in finding new and catchy names for methods of teaching, in the latest fashions in textbooks, or in any other externalities of education, it does appear that they too

frequently overlook the most persistent and probably the most difficult problem of all — that of securing, training, and retaining excellent teachers for the schools. The problem of improved instruction has been long persistent and difficult, largely because of conditions pointed out in Chapters XI and XII; that it now continues to be stubborn is at least partly because school-teaching has been subordinated to school management.

An influence of industry. The interest of the average American school manager in the machinery, the organization, and the administration of education grows largely out of his eagerness to imitate the methods employed by captains of industry. The organization of mammoth private corporations, with their immense capitalizations, their intricate administrative and supervisory machinery, and their vast armies of employees, has characterized the growth of industry; and in education, which has come to be the largest public business in the country, it is now the fashion to copy closely the methods of business. Mass production and standardization are becoming as characteristic of the American school as of the American factory; volume and velocity of output are almost as conspicuous in the realm of education as in the field of machine-made materials. Although fads and spasms of experimentation are often reported as attempts to emancipate education from the suffocation with which an imitation of the forces of machine industry threatens to stifle it, the mechanical practices of the factory and the countinghouse are coming more and more to be the practices of the schools and colleges. Few features of American educational life escape the monotonous routine of the machine of which the school, the college, and the university are parts and in whose wheels children and youth are more and more made to revolve. Education has become increasingly standardized and mechanical, graded by years, by points, by credits, by majors, by courses,

and wearing the veneer of finality. Even now there are signs that American education tends to encourage a uniformity of mind and manners that makes for superficiality, and as it becomes more and more mechanical, more and more are the American people likely to mistake its shadow for its substance.

Robust faith in education. Notwithstanding its weaknesses, however, public education continues to hold the confidence of the American people. Probably no other theory, or doctrine, of democracy has for them such fascinating interest as the theory, or doctrine, that relates to the equality of educational opportunity. Probably no other principle of democratic government has had so much claimed for it. It is comforting in its almost romantic promise of an educational Utopia. The validity of many of the claims of the democratic school system finds encouraging support in actual practice. The public school has played and continues to play a most vital part in the spiritual advancement of the American people as well as in their material advancement, and it has served to guide them toward high-mindedness as well as to increase their material riches and power. The principle of universal education, although far from complete in practical application, has uplifted and enriched them and quickened and refined their life.

The increased and constantly increasing economic well-being of the average citizen of the United States — the widespread material prosperity of the country at large — is largely due to the extension and application of this principle. Comparative statistics dealing with the increase in per capita wealth, bank resources, savings accounts, and other evidences of economic power made a very impressive showing in the three or four decades prior to 1929. Public education then had its most effective development. And along with the personal and corporate accumulations of material wealth went also a rapid rate of progress in public wel-

fare generally, promoted largely by the public school, which has served to give the average American citizen an appreciation of public services and has led him to demand many others. Not only has his faith in education increased, but increasingly does he appear to view it as necessary to personal and public well-being. Increasingly also does he express faith not only in the school but in other forms of collective action: police, fire, and health protection, hospitals, improved roads, and agencies for the care of the delinquent, dependent, and defective members of society. Increasingly is he demanding for his community such agencies of enlightenment as libraries and museums and other things which promise to add to the sum total of human happiness. Perhaps the most competent evidence of his faith in education appears in his endeavors and often in his sacrifices for the support of the school and other cultural and civilizing agencies. These endeavors and sacrifices are impressive tributes to the belief of the American people in the effectiveness of public education. Sometimes, indeed, they seem to see in it the panacea for the ills and weaknesses inevitable in a democratic society. But even when the public school, like other theories or dreams of democracy, falls short in reality or practical application and fails to fulfill its promises to the masses for whom it was established, their faith remains robust. They refuse to see comedy in the democratic theory of education or to decry it, as opponents and cynics so often do.

This chapter has treated in a rather general way some of the principal tendencies and problems in American education down to about 1929. It has pointed out the recently enlarged provision of facilities and opportunities for the scientific study of education, the significance of the school survey and the testing and measurements movement, and

the means by which educational research and educational discussion are encouraged. Attention has also been called to the increased interest in adult education, to the place of educational foundations and trusts, and to the movement to secure from the national government financial aid for general education in the states.

The chapter has also drawn attention to the problems of rural education, the education of the negro and of foreign-born citizens, and to certain new problems that have appeared recently in elementary, secondary, and higher education. The interest of the public in the care of defectives, delinquents, and dependents has also been noted; and attention has been called to the recent rapid development in the organization and administration of education. The chapter shows also that although the American school system has many defects it continues to hold the confidence of the American people, who are constantly increasing their efforts to support the schools.

Underlying the idea of American education is a worthy philosophy. Its history is the story of struggles with selfishness and with mediocrity in management; always it has needed reform. While the schools have provided the American people with opportunities which they could not have had in equal measure by any other means, obstacles continue to obstruct their way. These were especially stubborn during the depression that began in 1929. Its effect upon education is discussed in the next chapter.

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QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Make a study of the recent extensions of educational effort in your state, listing the various forms which such extensions take.

2. Why were the colleges and universities slow to provide facilities and opportunities for the scientific study of education? List the various institutions and agencies in your state which now provide such facilities and opportunities.

3. What is the significance of the school-survey movement? Consider some of the surveys which have been made in your state and note any reforms or improvements which have resulted.

4. Make a list of the more important professional associations and journals which help to promote education in your state.

5. Point out the significance of the use of standard tests and measurements of mental ability and of educational achievement.

6. What are the conventional arguments often heard against the testing and measuring movement in education? What are the arguments made in support of the movement? Point out any dangers you see in the movement.

7. Why did the United States enter upon work in adult education later than certain European countries? List all the agencies promoting adult education in your state.

8. List the advantages and disadvantages of the large private funds (foundations or trusts) which are used to promote educational and public-welfare work. Study the work of any of these foundations in your state.

9. The Southern states do not now reach to national standards in education. Point out the causes.

10. Point out the arguments for and against the proposal before Congress in recent years for national aid to general education. Why was the proposal shelved in early 1950?

11. Why does education in strictly rural areas present such perplexing and stubborn problems? Indicate a solution of those problems.

12. Make a study of negro education in the South and offer a solution for the problem.

13. Report on any significant experiments now being made in your state in (1) elementary education ; (2) secondary education ; (3) higher education.

14. What is the purpose of the junior high school? of the junior college? of orientation courses and "freshman week" in the colleges?

15. Make a study of the agencies now operating in your state for the care of physical, moral, and mental defectives, delinquents, and dependents. To what extent is this work one of repair rather than of prevention? What effort is your state making to prevent these weaknesses?

16. It is sometimes said in criticism of the American school system that emphasis is more upon organization and administration than upon teaching. Discuss the criticism.

17. Point out any evidence which you see that the American people have an increasing faith in the idea of public education.

18. In your opinion what have been the most significant developments in American education since 1940?

19. List the various educational activities in which the Federal government has participated in recent years. Account for such activities.

20. Find out and report on any significant court decisions dealing with education during the past ten years.

21. What activities in adult education are carried on in your state?

CHAPTER XVIII

THE LEAN YEARS

Outline of the chapter. 1. Although the confidence of the American people in education had remained strong during the days of prosperity, that faith seemed to weaken during the days of adversity.

2. Education was in a sad plight following the economic collapse of 1929. Debts, deficits, and the depression were pointed to as the causes of the troubles that faced the schools.

3. Education was assailed by professors of education, by the press, by commencement orators, and by religious leaders.

4. The educators deliberated in local and national conventions and were sobered by the conditions that faced their work; they seemed to discover that the machinery or shadow of education should not be mistaken for its vital substance.

5. Taxation and the cost of education were among the most acute educational problems facing the country; the critics continued to attack education.

6. The year 1933-1934 was so dismal for schools in the United States that an increased interest appeared in Federal aid to education.

7. Impressive was the patience of the teachers whose loyalty was put to an extraordinary strain during these barren years.

8. The crisis led to inquiry as to the behavior of the American people toward education in other economic emergencies. The depression of 1929 may have a tonic effect upon education by showing that its "ruin and recovery are alike from within."

Education appeared to hold the confidence of the American people during the decades that followed the awakening described in Chapter VIII and especially during the prosperous years that preceded the fateful autumn of 1929. Those who denied the effectiveness of education, those who doubted its guiding philosophy, and those who cynically opposed it appeared to be growing fewer during the first thirty years of the present century. But these conditions changed with startling suddenness after 1929, although the effects of the

depression were slow to reach the schools. School taxes levied in that year were generally collected and expended as in normal times, but by 1931 the economic dislocation had laid heavy and violent hands upon the schools and other cultural agencies throughout the country. And when the million school-teachers and administrators, for whose services the American people had been expending annually nearly \$3,000,000,000, returned to their classrooms and offices in September of that year, most of them were less certain than they had ever been of their way or their pay in this pedagogical world.

The plight of education. Not only were their wages cut but almost everything they had been hired by the public to do was denounced as aimless and ineffective if not indeed actually vain. They and their work were assailed as never before, and there was the cry that much of so-called education and many of the educators were altogether barren. It was not amazing, therefore, that so many of those who went about the Middletowns teaching should have been distraught. The schools and the teachers were being tried as by fire.

The slashing of educational budgets naturally flustered the school-teachers and managers, but their terror was not due altogether to the fact that so many of them had been cut off with a shilling. True, the suddenness of the slashes startled them. Moreover, there was an extraordinary strangeness about the use of this method by the public to meet difficulties arising out of the economic depression. If such a means of public economy had ever been employed, even in times of emergencies and depressions, the records did not clearly reveal the period or place. On the contrary, they showed that in other dark times in the United States plans were made for enlarging rather than restricting public educational opportunity. But not so now; and the fear that the public had lost some of its earlier faith in education

distressed the teachers and managers of schools no less than the crippling of their work and the loss in their own wages.

Legislatures act. In the sessions of more than forty state legislatures in 1931 it early became evident not only that advanced school legislation would be impossible to enact, but that the schools would find it difficult to retain the financial support they had gained prior to 1929. The legislatures seemed to close their eyes and swing the ax, and one of the first places it hit heavily was education. Appropriations to schools, colleges, and universities were greatly reduced, salaries of teachers were often drastically cut, the teaching load and the size of classes were increased, school terms were shortened, building programs were held up or abandoned altogether, the annual increments in the salaries of teachers were denied, and many teachers returned to their work in September without contracts, not knowing the amount of salary they would receive or the length of the school term. Some legislatures even failed to provide revenue sufficient for the appropriation which they made for education, and some declined to do so, with full knowledge of the consequences, so reckless did the lawmaking bodies become in the closing days of unusually lengthy and erratic sessions. Cities that formerly had nine or ten months' schooling annually found it impossible to provide more than six or seven.

Debts, deficits, and the depression were pointed to as the causes of the crisis that now faced education. But the teachers and managers of the schools and other friends of education did not look upon the public action as expressions of public confidence in the outcome of education. Instead they believed that they were being punished by the public. They looked upon the strange and sudden reaction against school support as a protest against some theories and practices which the public did not approve as either sound economics or sound education. There had been a cry against alleged

waste of public-school funds, expensive and ornate school buildings, and fads and frills in the curriculum. The messages of some governors contained protests against such practices and recommendations for prompt, and in many cases very large, reductions in public-school expenditures. Some legislatures went beyond the suggestions of the governors for "intelligent economy" and by unintelligent reductions in educational support set the schools back many years and lowered the morale of those who taught and managed them.

The plight of the schools became more impressive when the public discovered that their work was not lessened but increased by the depression. The schools were called upon to instruct more children at a time when homes were crumbling and parents were anxious and distraught. There was fear that the schools themselves would be threatened with the same dissolution that had undermined the homes from which the children had come. Those who clearly saw the danger urged that first consideration be given to the children's budget, so that faith could be kept with the oncoming generation. In New York City alone one thousand members of the staff of the schools voted to continue their support when a crisis appeared in the school relief fund for feeding and clothing needy children, a work which Superintendent William J. O'Shea described as "the holiest of causes." About sixty-two thousand children were being fed daily from that fund, without which, said O'Shea, "all the cemeteries of the city would be crowded with children who died of starvation and the city would be overrun with crime."

The budgets of colleges and universities were also sharply slashed under the demands for economy. Legislatures in a majority of the states reduced appropriations from 5 to 50 per cent, cut salaries, eliminated official positions and courses, and increased tuition fees, in an effort to balance

expenditures with their decreased revenues. Many privately supported institutions of higher learning faced similar difficulties, with a diminution of receipts from practically every source. Building programs were suspended, research and extension services were curtailed or eliminated, the teaching staffs were reduced, and other economies were undertaken. Meantime gifts to philanthropy, which had exceeded two billion a year between 1923 and 1929, diminished in number and amount, and the day of large gifts for education seemed to be in the past.

Other cultural agencies, especially libraries, suffered by drastic cuts. Library facilities were seriously curtailed, although, more than in the days when money was easy to get, reading reached a new high level, especially in the cities, in 1932 and 1933. About 170,000,000 books were borrowed for home use in forty-three cities studied by the American Library Association, — 12,000,000 more than in 1931. More serious reading was being done in the colleges and universities, — a fact that was noted by many presidents of these institutions. World issues were stirring college men and women, and undergraduates were taking life more seriously and showing a more intelligent and lively interest in public affairs than ever before. The number of students studying economics, political science, and sociology was increasing. There was increased interest in war debts, unemployment, tariff, and other issues, — an interest that promised to lead the present generation to take a more critical position in political and social affairs than had any generation in the past.

The experts criticize. Moreover, the educational hired men and women of the community were severely censured by the high priests in education, — those who set the pedagogical styles for school-teachers and managers. These professional educational experts condemned, often out of hand, almost every feature of the democratic theory and

practice of public education which had so long been one of the proud boasts of the United States. The elementary school was attacked for its low standards of discipline and the chaos of its curriculum, as well as its inadequately trained teachers and the fact (apparently only then discovered) that most of them were women. The secondary school was assailed as an educational fetish and an arid and purposeless luxury, which was every year costing the American public immense sums.

Higher education was condemned as positively degenerate. One of the critics, a former president of a large state university, told a multitude of school workers in the summer of 1931 that the colleges of this country were headed straight for the demnition bowwows. He denounced as superficial and unintelligent the present method of admitting students to colleges, declared coeducation unsafe, and pointed to automobiles and liquor as other partners of the "charming combination" which, along with an easy curriculum, the leisureliness of the students, fraternities (those "splendid centers of hypocrisy"), and the autocracy of professional coaches, afflicted higher education and made for deterioration and cultural death.

An eminent professor of education, whose name was almost a household word throughout the world, called compulsory education a foolish arrangement, likening it to a drunken man "who scatters coins among a crowd." He said that it would be far better to spend public funds on people of promise than on morons and dullards who would be happier if left alone. Other masters rebuked the teachers for the self-satisfaction and inertia which, with other weaknesses, were taking the school system of the United States "along the lazy path to degeneration"; charged the schools with the spread of crime, the increasing divorce rate, and the prevalence of political corruption; and declared that too many educational administrators were opportunists who moved

along with the current, that teachers were "little more than automatons, little better than employees, in the factory sense of the word," and that the public-school system of the United States was based upon "the false belief that the education of children and of young people can provide a guarantee for a desirable quality of adult life and citizenship." Another distinguished educationalist asserted that from 30 to 50 per cent of the subject matter taught in American schools should be eliminated, but he failed to prescribe the proper substitution, — an omission that left hundreds of his audience as dismayed at the end as they were at the beginning of his lecture.

The press ridicules. But the discomfiture of the teachers resulted not alone from a sudden wage reduction by a public that charged them with profligacy, nor from rebukes by the professional educationalists. The press added to the frustration of those who had charge of the public's largest business. Never had so much been written about the schools. An editor of a very influential newspaper charged that the school managers and teachers had lost their zest for a fight, and rebuked them for timidity and lethargy when the law-making body was cutting their salaries and reducing appropriations to the higher educational institutions. Another editor wrote in his paper of national circulation a signed article called "Schools and Waste," in which he said that the problem that confronted the teachers was that of teaching boys and girls reading, writing, and arithmetic. "It is a whale of a problem, too, and if it were successfully solved, great things would be accomplished for the nation." He went on to charge that teachers were content with nothing less than covering the earth; that they acquiesced in, when they did not instigate, all sorts of movements to make the schools take over the functions of the home, the church, and the policeman. He thought it no wonder, considering the length and breadth to which modern education had spread.

that "there are complaints that it is a bit thin." He expressed some fear, too, that "any and every sort of quack, pretentious mountebank, and pious fraud can invade the field of education," and pointed to the difficulty of throwing such charlatans out. "The average layman knows that he is quite unequal to such a task; so he becomes an easy victim for educational 'experts' with fifty-seven varieties of expensive idiocy."

Commencement orators advise. But thoughtful and discerning men and women knew that education of the right kind was not "a delusion, a mockery, and a snare." They knew that the world was in desperate need of really competent people, with the best possible training applied to the gift of intelligence and good judgment and tempered with character and idealism, devoted to the service of man and his society, as President Karl T. Compton told the graduating class of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in June of 1933. That year's crop of baccalaureate sermons and addresses gave enough advice to save the whole world, if only the old orb would have taken it,—to solve all its problems, to build up among men a new and lively morality in personal character, to remove all economic afflictions, and to eradicate all political evils. But, as in commencements of other years, the words of advice spoken to the class of 1933 were likely to go the way of their hortatory predecessors and to be forgotten soon after they were heard.

While President Compton was speaking to the technologists in Massachusetts, Dr. John H. Finley, of the *New York Times*, was down in old Virginia telling the sweet girl graduates of Randolph-Macon Woman's College that it was more important to teach men and women how to use leisure rightly than to teach them how to labor efficiently; Secretary of the Treasury Woodin was revealing to the graduating class of Syracuse University the fact that music was needed to stimulate courage, and that fear had caused runs

on banks and was responsible for the depression; Dr. A. Lawrence Lowell, expressing farewell to the Harvard that he had served in such distinguished manner for nearly a quarter of a century, was declaring to the class of 1933 that the weary and distressed world needed above all else sound thinking, broad sympathies, and courage,—“the best that is in young men, and Harvard sends you forth equipped for whatever may betide”, they heard him define the salt of the world as those “who hold on to themselves . . . who keep their calmness and balance of mind, striving to see things in their true proportions, undisturbed by prepossessions, and on the other hand by fear, by hallucinations or the outcries of the impulsive multitude”; more than three hundred bachelors of arts at Wellesley were hearing about powers, gifts, and resources, or life’s magnificent challenge, thrilling in its audacity and stinging in its scorn,—a voice from the past that called to men in the tragic present; nearly twelve hundred baccalaureates, masters, and doctors at Cornell were hearing President Livingston Farrand decry nationalism as the most disturbing influence facing the world, and speak a word in behalf of the betterment of the communities in which the Cornellites should live; out at Palo Alto President Ray Lyman Wilbur was telling the graduates of Stanford University that the deadliest afflictions of the American people were astrology in business, buncombe in politics, superstition in daily life, and exaggerated and perverted emotions; Smith College graduates were being told by Alanson B. Houghton, former ambassador to England and to Germany, that putting economic interests under control of the government might lead to a form of governmental organization that would be intolerant of opposition and submerge the individual; alumni of the Yale Law School were hearing Controller of the Currency James F. O’Connor blame the bankers for most of the financial evils of the period; at Hartford, Trinity graduates were

listening to their president as he gave high praise to President Roosevelt for forming the brain trust, which he called a liberating force; Harvard Phi Beta Kappas were hearing Governor Wilbur Cross of Connecticut assail the ignorance of university graduates on politics, — they did not know how local aldermen or magistrates were elected; Yale graduates were hearing their President Angell declare that the world was crippled by spiritual paralysis, moral inertia, a shabby philosophy of life, and graft that seemed widely accepted as a "more or less inevitable incident of government," and were hearing him plead for that vital religion that is found only in "vivid and solicitous concern for the welfare of others, whereby it becomes impossible to purchase one's own happiness at the cost of another's, and not less in an abiding and genuine reverence for the dictates of justice and right, honor and mercy, truth and love and beauty." Earlier in the depression President Nicholas Murray Butler was telling (by radio to one of the most gigantic alumni meetings ever held) thousands of Columbia University men and women in New York and a half-hundred other cities in the United States, and in Paris, London, Manila, Havana, Shanghai, and Mexico City, and on the *Franconia* nearing Bombay, that the great universities of the world had "more power than any government, more power than armies and forts and ships," — the power of organized intelligence, a power that resided in the higher educational institutions; but he warned the alumni that the American people were apt to confine themselves too much to the political, economic, and financial aspects of modern life, and asserted that mind and character were more important. And in June of 1933, when he conferred more than five thousand academic degrees in the presence of an audience of twenty thousand, President Butler said that the social order rested upon a moral rather than an economic foundation, and that unless the gain-seeking motive of Americans were subordi-

nated to the ideal of human service, grief and disaster would continue to becloud and distress the world.

The pulpit points to dangers. A common shipwreck, as Lucretius noted in *De Rerum Natura*, is generally a consolation to all. Common danger often brings common agreement. The pulpit joined with the professional pedagogues and the press and commencement orators, and pointed to the shortcomings and sins of education, and indirectly charged to its failures the broken fortunes, broken homes, defalcations, and suicides that accompanied the depression. But competent observers of the passing commencement shows in 1933 would have remarked the extraordinary procedure of the baccalaureateers and the pulpiteers in the higher seats of learning that presumed to tell the graduates in a half-hour what these temples of light and leading should have been teaching the students for four years.

The young graduates of 1933 were hearing religious leaders say that the American people had lost and were losing their sacred heritages because they did not fight for them; that nothing makes human beings more intellectually stupid than an aggressive accumulation of facts without the sense or the wisdom to interpret or extract vital meanings from those facts; that there must be a revolt against hypocrisies and harrowing impositions; that the disgrace of the present period was that people lacked the necessities of life in times of plenty, a strange contradiction that seems to have been revealed only after the world fell upon hard times; that our mode of life must be remade; that we had paid a heavy price to learn that the making of money does not automatically make a great human being; that students found it harder and harder to see the process of education as a whole and get their own bearings; that religion summoned men and women not only to great views of human life but to decisive choices on its critical issues; that the central issue of a confused generation turned on the values and ends

toward which human beings organized their lives; that the great American vice was not graft, nor corruption, nor vice itself, but indifference to these social insanities; that modern society was facing conditions that threatened the foundations of civilization through indifference toward suffering, injustice, cruelty, hardships, racial discrimination and conflict, and the wide differences between the rich and the underprivileged; that pedagogical and liturgical niceties and mystical rhapsodies would not remove the distressing conditions of the time; that the world had broken from traditions, especially in religion and government, and had failed to find sustaining substitutes with which to live; that men and women found the world empty and sought cover for their sad plight in cynicism and clever mockery and sneers; that human intelligence, as magnificent and as indomitable as it is, is insufficient for present needs; that humanity scanned every solution offered for the ills of modern society, but that man's selfishness and cruelty had caused humanity to turn away disappointed. Indeed, it did appear that the task of civilization was to build a just society out of very inferior material.

The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, in an encyclical adopted at the closing session of its annual meeting in 1932, was blaming greed for the economic crisis and declaring that economic exploitation, through which the acquisitive instinct had submerged the sense of social responsibility, was "bearing and eating its own bitter fruit." It was not comfortable for the churchmen to contemplate that "the exploiter is so largely suffering under the same weight of distress as that which has crushed the victims of his rapacity." The economic plight was desperate when it was recalled that the extent of unemployment in 1932 did not appear in "too sharp contrast with conditions that obtained during the preceding years of abundance, such as 1927, when some twelve million of our people lived at the

level of bare subsistence." The council was moved to a "sense of sorrow akin to shame" as it faced the tragically unchristian character of so much of American life. The people of America had only substituted one form of paganism for another; suspicion, fear, malice, lust, and greed may prove to be as mightily malignant in the presence of unparalleled scientific achievements and material prosperity as they ever were among primitive peoples, and attempts to erect a society upon the supremacy of material things had brought them to the same "morass as that into which ancient civilizations fell."

While the cries of suffering were heard from one end of the land to the other, the pastor of a wealthy Fifth Avenue congregation was digressing from his sermon long enough to make an appeal for support of the emergency unemployment relief committee of New York City by saying:

If there are any men in this congregation who can look out on the distress and misery of the present time without feeling the urgency of its appeal, nothing that I could add would be of any avail and all that I can say to such persons is: "If these things do not interest you, then you can go to hell and may your money perish with you."

The news account of the minister's appeal described him as leaning forward and speaking most deliberately as he voiced the concluding sentence. Then he tossed his notes on the lectern and seated himself for the offertory solo. His sermon which followed was based on the text "None of us liveth unto himself."

Meantime Warden Lewis E. Lawes of Sing Sing was asserting before the National Education Association that the school systems had done little or nothing to mold character and that there was a missing link between education and character. The aspirations of education as proclaimed in official documents were noble, he thought, but the records

of police departments, children's courts, juvenile homes, and reformatories told a different story. Shortly after the warden's criticism was made, college and university executives were bemoaning the tragedy of the indifference and inactivity among graduates and undergraduates toward social and political affairs. Education was held responsible for the cause and the cure of this condition.

There was significance, religious leaders seemed to believe, in the growing fashion of using scientific arguments to impress upon the mind of man his real or alleged insignificance, his infinitesimal importance in relation to the universe, as well as the fashion of another school of thought that held man's real greatness to lie in his independence of the universe, — the theory that he can afford to disregard social problems if he gets a maximum of thrill and pleasure out of life. The scientists themselves, the clerics charged, romanticized the self-sufficiency of man and falsely taught that his salvation depended upon the extent of his scientific knowledge.

While the charges of materialism and greed were being heatedly made by many clergymen and idealists, advocates of science stepped forward. Dr. Michael I. Pupin declared that if there is a taint of materialism in this powerful age, it should not be charged against the sciences which have discovered various forms of power for the use of mankind; the blame is set heavily against "the spiritual unpreparedness of mankind to enjoy these gifts that have been bought through power." He thought political science, sociology, psychology, and theology were to be blamed for failing to teach men and women that there are spiritual powers in the human heart which would enable them to employ such powers for the good of mankind, as science has been able to do with the physical powers.

If graduates of the 1930's heard and heeded the dismal words spoken at their commencements, they must have been aware that they were taking their diplomas into a very forbidding

world. But here and there was relief. While a former Secretary of the Treasury was pointing out to the alumni of one university the danger of centralized Federal control over industry, a popular pitcher of the New York Giants was receiving the degree of Bachelor of Science from that institution and, according to press reports, was standing in triumphant strength and skill and in an undisputed high place in the Mohawk Valley, where he had been mighty in athletics. While Mr. Mills was contending that dictatorship was not demanded by the conditions of the time, Hal Schumacker was being applauded by the institution in which he had won so many laurels; and Canton, the seat of the college, was his own that day, with its shops and houses decorated in his honor. Hal dominated the scene even while honorary degrees were being bestowed.

While undergraduates were reported more serious than usual, the painful news issued from the colleges that intercollegiate athletics were feeling the pinch of the depression and were being deflated. It was increasingly difficult to maintain athletic programs as elaborate as those supported before the economic collapse, and no easier to keep football pure and undefiled. So critical was this condition that Dr. Henry S. Pritchett, of the Carnegie Corporation for the Advancement of Teaching, whose Bulletin No. 23 on organized football had earlier stirred the colleges of the country, playfully proposed in the *Atlantic Monthly* for October of 1932 that intercollegiate horse racing should be substituted, so that the players could be released for the pursuit of learning and the bootlegging alumnus could be curbed. "Think what a pot of money a Harvard-Yale horse race would take in!"

The educators deliberate. Nowhere was the plight of education more seriously recognized than in the annual meetings of local and national educational organizations. Never were these groups more energetic, if nervous; and

their labors were not without effect, although the law-making bodies generally had gone to their state capitols in 1931 and in 1932 determined to cut expenses of government. And with this purpose they continued to go, and in many cases the cuts into education were made even deeper than before.

While the meetings of state associations were concerned with local troubles, those of the national groups reflected the educational misery of the entire country. The spirit of these men and women, as they assembled in Minneapolis for their annual meeting early in 1933, was fervid and militant. Their deliberations dealt mainly with the emergency in education. Many of the addresses voiced protest against the past decade of greed, debauchery, and irrational individualism in American life, and a plea for a more healthy attitude toward public service in general. True, there was some evidence that not all of those who managed and taught schools had fully emerged from their bewilderment and dismay at the harsh realities of retrenchment in education. They knew that the flush years of prosperity were in the past, that the boom era of educational development was halted, that large budgets which formerly went unchallenged were now closely trimmed, and that the appropriations actually allowed were closely watched. This strange condition tended to subdue and disquiet these leaders, some of whom revealed a fear of insecurity, while a few seemed to find it difficult to attain perspective sufficient to estimate the full meaning of the crisis in education. They were alarmed not only by emaciated financial resources but also by the criticism of their work.

Some of them appeared to be blinded by the afterglow of the rapid conquest of this country by public education before 1929. Those idealists who in fair-weather days came to look upon dubious realists as educational unbelievers and heretics were now shocked and terrorized by cuts in their

budgets. Some of them allowed themselves to be deceived by what critics called the superficial quickness of public educational development, which had been so phenomenal after 1915, while they placed a sort of blind faith in gigantic administrative and supervisory organization, and counted the strength of their work in terms of size and numbers. A few perhaps had failed to distinguish clearly between education and schooling. It was only natural, therefore, that public-school managers found themselves in the wilderness of educational confusion. They knew that they and their work were confronted with insecurity. But it was cheering to observe that even if their morale tended to weaken, most of them whistled their way through the educational graveyard.

It is not improbable also that some leaders felt a bit responsible for the mess education was in; certainly they knew that, whether justly or not, critics had charged to education a part of the general economic and social collapse. Although there were signs in support of the view that some leaders had been weakened spiritually by the disaster which had overtaken their work materially, an observer also discerned symptoms of recovery. It appeared that, notwithstanding the attacks upon it, education had a strong constitution and that its leaders were ready and eager to do their full part to maintain high quality in it; that in spite of the suffering which education had undergone during the past few years, it still showed elasticity and capacity for adaptation. Though "bruised with adversity," the fight for mere existence seemed to call out its latent forces and the loyalty of its leaders, and the crisis through which education was passing promised to serve to purify their work and to renew their vitality.

There was no effort to disguise the fact that education of almost all kinds and degrees was not only on the defensive but heavily under fire. The school administrators knew

that their salaries and the salaries of their teachers, as well as of other public servants, were open and easy targets for economy sharpshooters. Their policies or practices were being examined. The foes of education had easy access to vehicles of publicity, and the average citizen was likely to be misinformed or kept in ignorance about the hard-earned gains of education in the past. It seemed clear also that the public needed intelligible information about the schools; that the school people feared that they themselves had been a bit smug, perhaps remiss in their obligation to keep the public accurately and adequately informed about the schools, and not alert enough to prevent the distortion of information by critics and ill-wishers on the cost and the work of the schools. Many superintendents were frankly confessing these sins, most of them admitting the necessity for checking waste in the schools. Not only were they aware of this need, but they seemed to know that they must maintain and increase their educational solvency if the basis of public confidence and good will was to be restored and preserved.

It was impressive to observe that these managers of the biggest public business in the United States were also becoming aware that taxation in this country had reached a stage of considerable seriousness, and that its burden was one of the most stubborn obstacles in the path of educational as well as general business recovery. They seemed to know also, or appeared to be learning, that probably the American people had not yet developed an accepted philosophy of taxation. While those who spoke on the subject held that economy in education was desirable at all times, they urged as of utmost importance that essential school service should be maintained; and they pointed out that the demands upon the schools were heavier than in times of prosperity. While the prevailing view was that "We of the teaching profession are under the obligation to accept salary reduc-

tions in line with decreased costs of living," the grave danger to morale and efficiency was pointed out if reductions reached the alarming proportions generally which were already found in some places in the United States. But these leaders in educational administration seemed to believe that economies could be made by better organization and administration. Better budgetary practice, the elimination of useless and costly mechanical equipment, and a better revenue system were urged. Economies could and must be made, but "We must fight not only to keep the schools open but also to provide in them suitable opportunities for all the children."

The conviction seemed strong also that the training of teachers demanded reorganization and redirection. There seemed to be a common agreement that there had been an unintelligent multiplication and duplication of courses in normal schools, teachers' colleges, and departments of education, — conditions which had developed during the period of rapid educational growth. In the opinion of many leaders the time seemed ripe for a thorough and systematic revision of this work. Specifically, it appeared that most of those who had the responsibility for training teachers believed that teacher-training agencies, especially university departments of education, should relate themselves more closely to subject matter, even though specialists in subject matter in the past may have discharged their obligations reluctantly and perhaps ineffectively. More fundamental courses were recommended: courses in education should be related more closely to the other social sciences, so that students in education might learn that the school is an important part of the American social order. This subject received considerable attention at meetings of the American Association of Teachers' Colleges, and at meetings of the National Society of College Teachers of Education, when the educational leaders met in 1933.

Among those who were managing and directing the schools of this country was discernible the belief that American education of all kinds and conditions may be able to get along with less administrative organization. Some of these leaders unfortunately had been taught or had taught themselves to look upon organization as the sacrament of ritualistic educational administration. The demobilization of their staffs and the dismantling of their administrative machinery had broken their spirits, and they feared that the area of their work was being restricted. Few of them seemed able to understand that instead of being restricted the area of their work could be deepened and enriched. While the moratorium in education was being discussed, mild and even severe criticisms were being made against the huge educational machinery which grew up in this country during the days of prosperity and from which some afflictions were believed to have come.

To the president of a large state university the crisis was "the sword over education," which he saw as "imperative retrenchment, forged in the fires of irrational depression. The peril lies not so much in the existence of the sword as in the way we wield it." He assailed the "economic muddling" that had brought on the depression and increased taxes. The president of another distinguished state university saw the crisis in terms of conflicting governmental philosophies and this country in the position of choosing between recovery and stagnation, between an independent and active people and a dependent and inert peasantry. He urged courageous thinking and hoped that the educational leadership of the United States would not prove as helpless in its task and responsibility as the economic and political leadership had been in theirs. An eminent journalist pictured representative governments as on trial, largely because the individual citizen was indifferent to, and by inaction disclaimed responsibility for, any effective part in making them

successful. He thought this social affliction could be removed only by proper work in the schools. A world-famous philosopher charged that economy measures menaced the schools, and warned the school people that public education cannot be secure so long as its policies are dominated by powerful financial interests, bankers, "and other outside pecuniary groups." He thought this condition "a pathetic and tragic commentary on the lack of social power possessed by the teaching profession." He also said :

"In effect and in some degree . . . in deliberate intent, the public schools are under attack. The fountain head of the attack everywhere are large taxpayers and the institutions which represent the wealthier and privileged elements in the community." Those who made the least use of the public schools, who were the least dependent upon them because of superior economic status, who gave their children by means of private teachers the same things which they denounced as extravagances when supplied in less measure to the children of the masses in the schools, these were the most active critics of the schools. Under cover of the depression and the cry of economy (interpreted to mean reduction of expense and not removal of source of waste and disorder) the efficiency and attractiveness of the schools were being threatened, "and the standards won by hard work over many years were being undermined." He believed that the cause of the economic catastrophe was identical with the cause of the educational crisis.

The commission on educational leadership of the Department of Superintendence during these unhappy days was inviting men and women of all walks of life into effective partnership in the common task of determining public educational policy instead of depending so blindly upon "professional educators" for both quantity and quality of the leadership necessary for the maintenance and direction of the schools. The chairman of the Emergency Commission

of the Department of Superintendence warned against the vigorous efforts which he said were being made "to create a peasant class and impose a peasant education in the United States." He thought the battle had begun. "But we are going to have an organization that can give blow for blow and ask no quarter." The applause which this announcement received revealed the militant spirit of the convention. Interesting also was the vote of the National Council of Education, a policy-forming group of the National Education Association, to petition President Roosevelt to create a national council on social-economic planning for the country, in which the school people as well as representatives of agriculture, labor, industrial management, and the various professions should have a lively part.

Specialists count the costs. The National Survey of School Finance, authorized by Congress in 1931, reported early in 1933 that a third of the school children of the country were receiving inadequate instruction and that the depression was endangering the standards for millions of others. The depression was one of the causes of the unhappy condition, but not the sole cause. Most of the states, the survey report stated, would find it difficult to support adequate educational systems even in times of economic prosperity, because the old methods of school support had broken down. Half of the states obtained 90 per cent, or even more, and five sixths of them 80 per cent, of the support of the schools from general property levies. Instead of continuing the prevalent practice of depending upon property taxation for school maintenance, that burden should be widened by the imposition of other taxes, the report urged. Five years later the need for a wider distribution of public educational support was emphasized in the report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education.

While the report of this finance survey was being distributed to the legislatures and governors of the various states the

lawmaking bodies and chief executives in most of these states were holding or preparing to hold legislative sessions in 1933, and many of them were already saying, by messages, bills, and acts, that the need was for more than a redistribution of the burden of school support. The burden itself must be lightened, they cried. The cost of education must come down, they demanded. Reduced cost of government was a definite mandate from the common people themselves, including that mythical "man in the street." Long before their election hundreds of statesmen were pledged to bring down public expenditures. Expert advice from the whole race of economists, political scientists, educators, and humanitarians had been sought and sometimes respectfully heard and occasionally taken, in more prosperous times. In fact, millions had been spent on the services of "experts" during such times, some of it casually and perhaps even unintelligently. But not so now. *Dies irae* had come. The year that saw an expert vacate the White House to an advocate of justice to the "forgotten man" set out to record itself on taxation in many a state capitol in 1933. Long before the statesmen reached the statehouses they had prepared drastic economy measures, and some of the Solons had offered bills to slash almost before their chaplain had offered his initial petition for blessings upon their deliberations.

The National Education Association had made, in 1932, a very stirring presentation that undertook to show, in general, that expenditures for education were very inadequate. The estimated national income in 1930 was given at approximately \$78,000,000,000, while the entire cost of elementary, secondary, and teacher-training schools and colleges and universities, was placed at about \$2,615,000,000. This was only about $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the total national income. Expenditures for tax-supported teacher-training institutions, colleges, and universities were about \$294,292,000, and those of the public elementary and secondary schools were about

\$2,320,000,000. Therefore only about 11 per cent of the total cost of public education, and less than two fifths of 1 per cent of the total national income, could be charged to tax-supported higher education. Moreover, the value of all public-school property was more than \$7,000,000,000, but this represented less than $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of the national wealth in 1930, which was \$322,000,000,000.

Comparing the expenditures for education and for other purposes of government, it was noted that the total of all Federal, state, and local expenditures showed that the cost of highways and waterways had been far out of proportion to that of schools. President Hoover's Research Committee on Social Trends had revealed that between 1915 and 1929 the cost of highways and waterways increased 160 per cent, while that of education had increased only 120 per cent, both expenditures being given in terms of dollars in 1915. Meantime the Federal cost of highways had increased 1100 per cent, while the Federal cost of education had increased only 90 per cent. On needed retrenchment in public services the survey of social trends concluded:

The immediate effects produced by depression can scarcely be taken as adequate guides to long-time tendencies. Reductions in governmental costs do not necessarily imply widespread abandonment of established activities. The roads to economy are many. Governmental organization, whether in national, state, or local jurisdiction, still falls short of the standards of efficiency which in principle are generally accepted. Reorganization of conflicting and overlapping agencies and governments, improved techniques of overhead management, adjustment of salary scales to changes in living costs,— these offer opportunities for saving which cannot be overlooked. If, however, activities have been undertaken which under changed conditions meet no active public demand, their disappearance will not be long delayed.

But the critics continued to point to the menace of the cost of schools. Some of them, of course, admitted the

necessity of education, but they also continued to charge extravagance for so-called fads in education. The editor of the *Saturday Evening Post*, writing in that publication January 14, 1933, said :

It is to our credit that our realization of the benefits of learning is practically universal, and that we do not willingly deny our children anything we believe to be for their good. So strong is this tradition that "education" has become a veritable abracadabra, a magic word, a word with which to conjure incredible sums out of the pockets of the people. Woe unto the politicians or legislatures that would not unlock their treasuries to the word "education" . . .

Too long have we been at the mercy of the super-educators and their craze for novelties. If they were idle or dishonest or incompetent, we should know how to cope with them ; but they are none of these. They may swamp their employers with added taxes, but they are as honest as the day is long, and they fight for their convictions with the dauntless spirit of Christian martyrs who would face the lions of Nero in the arena rather than buy their lives by dropping a pinch of incense upon the altar of Diana.

The darkest year. As 1933-1934 advanced, official reports continued to reveal the deepening crisis in education. More than at any time during the depression were the quality and the existence of the schools at stake in many communities in the United States, according to a statement by Commissioner George F. Zook of the United States Office of Education. Said he : "We find ourselves in the grip of a social difficulty from which we shall extricate ourselves only with the greatest effort and pain." The closing of schools because of the lack of funds had deprived 100,000 additional children of educational opportunity in the autumn of 1933. Altogether about 2,280,000 children of school age were not in school. About 2000 rural schools in twenty-four states had failed to open, although few if any city public schools had been closed. Many private and parochial schools were closing, and at least 16 institutions

of higher education had been discontinued since 1932. In some communities so-called free public schools had been forced to charge tuition and to admit only those children whose parents could pay the fees. One fourth of the cities had shortened their school terms; more than 700 rural schools were expected to run not more than three months during the year. The terms in practically every great American city were one to two months shorter than they had been seventy-five years before. These conditions were in sharp contrast to conditions in European countries, and the problem in the United States was becoming more serious every day. The salaries of teachers were going lower and lower. One out of every four teachers was receiving less than \$750 a year, and it appeared that soon one out of every three would receive less than that amount; about 40,000 rural teachers would receive less than \$450 each in 1933-1934. One out of every thirteen negro teachers was receiving \$25 per month or less.

Reports from 700 typical cities of the country showed that many if not most of them had reduced or eliminated art instruction, music instruction, physical education, home economics, industrial art, and health services. About 200,000 certificated public-school teachers were unemployed; thousands of teachers had been dismissed from private schools and colleges. Few of the graduates of teacher-training schools were able to find positions. About 26,000 teachers would have been needed to operate the city schools on the 1930 basis, and 76,000 teachers would have been needed in the country as a whole, on the 1930 basis, for the multitudes of children who were not in school. About 728,000 more children were enrolled in the high schools of the country in 1932 than in 1930, although about 115,000 fewer children were in the elementary schools, the first decrease in the history of the country. The abolition of child labor in industry under the National Recovery Act had placed about 100,000

children in the high schools. The schools of the United States in the year 1933-1934 were trying to give instruction to pupils who had increased by more than a million since 1930, and on funds decreased by about \$368,000,000. The depression had crushed real-estate values and in turn crushed education. Tax delinquencies, lower assessments, mortgage problems, tax limitations, school funds in closed banks, differences in wealth, — these were some of the conditions facing education four years after the depression began.

Under these conditions a renewed interest in the Federal financing of education was evident. Conferences in many parts of the country were held on the emergency. Educators urged a national plan. President Hoover called a meeting of leaders in Washington toward the end of 1932. Early in the new year an important conference was held at Columbia University, and later in the summer of 1933 the National Conference on the Financing of Education met at that institution under the auspices of the Joint Commission on the Emergency in Education of the Department of Superintendence and the National Education Association. At that conference Dean William F. Russell, of Teachers College, presented a significant paper on the Federal financing of education, in which he made a plea for substantial Federal support as a part of the recovery program, asserting that "the Federal government should make grants at once for this purpose in almost any form; and that looking forward to more normal times, studies should be undertaken to determine the irregularities that exist from state to state and the methods necessary to surmount them." This view was shared by numerous other leaders throughout the country, and, as the new year of 1934 opened, the way toward Federal aid of education seemed brighter than at any other time in the history of the country.

The loyalty of the teachers. Impressive during these lean years was the loyalty of the school-teachers and other edu-

cational workers. Reports from all over the country showed that they were ready and willing to do their full part. While the minds of the American people were in a ferment under conditions which thoughtful men and women had said a few years before could never be, when confidence had weakened in the political, economic, financial, and even educational leadership of the country, the teachers patiently carried on.

Thousands of them went unpaid, were unable to meet payments on life insurance or on their homes, and were forced to borrow to the limit on insurance policies and in some cases from loan sharks. Occasionally militant action appeared among them, such as that of the Chicago teachers who were patient no longer and who refused to be distracted or entertained by the picturesque profanity of a leading citizen of Chicago, where finances had been notoriously muddled. Hunger and destitution menaced the homes of thousands of its teachers and other school employees, some of whom were not paid for many months by America's second largest city, that boasted a twenty-million-dollar opera house, a hundred-million-dollar lake-front park, and a modernistic "Century of Progress," but could not pay the men and women who instructed its children. The plight of the teachers in Chicago received much publicity, but conditions there must have differed only in extent from conditions in many other places in the country. Equally desperate and perhaps more hopeless conditions appeared in the rural schools throughout the Southern states, and in many sections of the Middle West.

But while public education was threatened with something little short of a complete breakdown in vast areas of the United States, with demands for further retrenchment from taxpayers' committees, citizens' commissions, bankers, power interests, merchants' associations, and real-estate groups, the teachers generally preferred "to make personal

sacrifices rather than have the children denied their educational birthright." They shared manfully in such sacrifices, and in doing so earned again their right to demand that the public be mindful of those whose well-being should be the public's first concern,—the children. The teachers knew that the agonizing human calamity that faced American life brought them fresh responsibilities which could not be evaded; that the way out of the hysteria was through not less but more real education, the most important of all public services; that there was the need for economy—and economy they approved, so long as it did not vitally affect the welfare of the children. But they also knew that the feverish agitation and demand for economy could easily be turned into campaigns whose catchwords would cripple the schools, and that an emergency, whether due to war, pestilence, flood, famine, or economic disturbances, was an additional reason for maintaining the educational work in unimpaired vitality. American teachers demonstrated again during the depression that they were among the least self-seeking groups of American citizens,—that seldom was money-mindedness dominant among them.

The story of education shows that the teachers have had to fight almost alone the battles for the children and for themselves. During the economic depression that began in 1929 their loyalty and patriotism were put to a very heavy strain. They faced an extraordinary test of merit. Nevertheless they continued to exhibit a robust faith in childhood and a spirit that has always served to give to teaching its finest quality and to keep it elevated above that blind materialism that gained so widely in American life during the prosperous years. Their bank balances were low, but their purposes remained high. They set good examples for many other citizens whose resources and opportunities were larger, and proclaimed sympathy and fellowship with the ideal of American education, probably more clearly than

any other group of people. They retained during the distress that followed 1929 their belief that the most substantial possessions are not land and goods, which are always within the reach of depressions and bankruptcies and moths and rust. Faith in childhood, on the other hand, was to them an imperishable and indestructible possession that remains with human beings after they have been robbed or stripped of those possessions that are unable to defy adversities or to outlive calamities. This faith of the teaching profession was reaffirmed by their representatives early in 1933 at a conference at Columbia University :

Free public education is the foundation upon which our nation is built. It is the rightful heritage of every American child. It is fundamental to social welfare and to national morale. Only through education may we hope for an orderly solution of our social and economic problems.

Our general welfare demands that the American program of education be maintained and improved. This program proposes to provide education suited to the needs and capacities of all boys and girls through the period of childhood and youth. It is concerned not only with intellectual achievement but also with physical and mental health. It should offer that variety of opportunity which will make possible a maximum of achievement for children who vary greatly in physical and mental capacity, in interests, and in ambitions. Its goal is the achievement of equality of opportunity. This is our fundamental American philosophy.

Education during other depressions. The crisis through which education was passing led to the question of the behavior of the American people toward education during other economic depressions. Studies disclosed that during the past century the United States had faced a dozen or more well-marked economic crises, each one accompanied by conditions of lowered production, shrinkage in capital, bankruptcies, falling prices, reduced earnings, wage cuts, unemployment, unrest, and distress. But during these depressions

education was pointed to as the foundation of public well-being and public well-doing, and cherished as the source of American life. Faith in the regenerative powers of education seemed to have remained robust during those distressing times.

Royce S. Pitkin showed, in "Public-School Support in the United States during Periods of Economic Depression," that significant gains were made in the maintenance of public educational facilities during and following other economic crises, that during other depressions the American people generally made substantial increases in public-school support, and that these increases more than kept pace with the increase in school attendance. Information examined for several states revealed that schools rather than other functions of government were usually favored during economic crises, that wherever reductions were widely made in public expenditures, reductions for education were less than for general governmental purposes, and that in some states public-school support actually increased while the costs of other public services decreased. The study also showed that considerable progress was made in educational legislation during years of depression. Says Pitkin (pp. 137-138):

Not a single serious depression was studied that did not have its accompaniment of better laws relating to the schools. Normal schools have been established in many states under such conditions; requirements for certification have been raised; better compulsory-education laws have been enacted; provision has been made for the education of the physically and mentally handicapped; entire state systems of schools have been reorganized; and better schemes of supervision have been put into operation.

Among the various phases of legislative activity relating to education during the lean years perhaps the most noteworthy is that relating to financial support. As one reads of the attempts, made during successive periods of diminished income, to provide

the funds necessary to carry on the type of school system that the American people seemed to desire, one sees a tendency to constantly enlarge the unit of support as a means of insuring a more equitable distribution of the burden. The activity of the educational leaders of the early years of the last century in the field of finance reminds us that the movement to equalize the tax burden and to provide equal educational opportunity is not a recent one. Different methods of distributing the state's funds for education have been tried under the stimulus of hard times. New sources of revenue have been found at times when the burdens of the owners of real estate have made them more vocal than usual. In fact, the whole range of educational finance has been the subject of increased attention during the recurring periods of depression with which the people of America have been afflicted.

Other developments during these periods have been those relating to the upward extension of the public school, such as the growth of the high school and the state university. The curriculum has been widened, school libraries have been provided, and textbooks made free during depression years. Plans for the retirement and pensioning of teachers have been established.

When the schools of the United States tried to reopen in 1933-1934, it seemed clear that the depression years had been teaching the American people the need for storing up through education spiritual rather than material treasures. Those who had seen in the schools only material advantage were desolate, tormented by a host of vain regrets, untouched by a heightened affection or by a widened sympathy for their fellow men, or by more humanity in dealing with them, or by a quickening of conscience toward questions of right and wrong, or by any aspirations that shield men from despair, — benefits which the schools should provide those who attend.

Many of the problems which education today faces flow directly from the depression. But there are others which the depression did not directly bring. The economic crisis of 1929 was accompanied by a definite tendency to submit

the schools to critical scrutiny. This is a healthy condition. Few thoughtful people can deny that some educational follies were committed in the past, that the schools can survive a reasonable measure of deflation, or that honest attempts to determine what can safely be done to adjust the work of the schools to the distressed conditions of the times are welcome. Moreover, critical conditions are disposing school workers to earnest reflection. They know that a revaluation of their work is being made. They seem also to be conscious that what at first appeared to be a most disheartening period can be viewed as opportunity for those who manage and teach the schools. The American people may become convinced that what all need to learn — the school people, those who sit in judgment upon their work, and parents and public generally — is that "ruin and recovery are alike from within," as Epictetus said in his golden manner many centuries ago. But perhaps the American people should also be reminded that chastened thinking under compulsion usually continues only during the period of the duress, — that resolutions cannot sustain themselves without an active display of will. The people of the United States can have as much and as good education as they will.

If the idea and ideals of American education are to survive the obstacles and vicissitudes that have contrived to obstruct their way since 1929, the words of A. Lawrence Lowell, spoken to the graduating class of Harvard in June of 1933, must be heard with respect and followed :

Sometimes in a shipwreck, or a fire in a theater, great loss of life has been prevented by a few brave men who have not lost their heads; and no one can ever know how much his own deliberate opinion may help in avoiding a calamity.

We are told that, conditions having changed, with them ideas must change and former principles become obsolete. That is only partly true. More than in uneventful times one must endeavor

to distinguish between the enduring and the temporary, between the things essential to the framework of every good human society and the expedients useful for the moment, not letting these impair the permanent structure. Now among the essentials are the personal characters of men.

There is needed also a personal standard of conduct beyond that which can be enforced by law, — a rectitude, a benevolence, a self-respect, that are not temporary but eternal qualities. The cardinal virtues — justice, prudence, temperance, and fortitude — are not evanescent nor can they ever become obsolete.

Let us strive to free ourselves from prejudice and selfishness, both personal and corporate, of interest and of occupation; for mankind can and will learn to direct itself for the general welfare if it does not lose its moral qualities and its sense of right and wrong.

Above all, let us bear in mind that a good citizen's first duty — mark you, by no means his only duty — but his first duty to the public is to preserve untarnished his own moral integrity.

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QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Account for the public behavior toward education and other cultural interests in the United States during the depression that began in 1929.

2. What evidence, if any, do you see in this behavior to indicate that the faith of the American people in education had weakened?

3. What principles of American education, such as those listed on page 36, were questioned by the public during the depression?

4. What arguments did the condition of education at that time provide in support of Federal aid for the schools? against Federal aid?

5. Compare the commencement speeches and sermons in 1933 with those given in 1923, and note the difference in tone.

6. What parts of the country suffered most in education during the depression years? Why?

7. What evidence have you to show that the areas which in general provided good schools before the depression lost least educationally during the depression?

8. The religious leaders of the country would doubtless say that the lack of religious instruction is the chief deficiency in American education. What is your answer to this criticism?

9. The charge was made during the depression years that American education had been dominated by vested financial interests. What evidence have you that this condition existed?

10. It was charged that American education had emphasized the acquisitive instinct and subdued in students the sense of social responsibility. Consider and discuss this charge.

11. What justification do you find for the charge that American education was wasteful during years of prosperity?

12. Discuss the criticisms that were made, during the depression years, of the prevailing methods of preparing teachers for the public schools.

13. Why is taxation such an acute educational problem in most of the American states?



"The legislatures seemed to close their eyes and swing the ax, and one of the first places it hit heavily was education."

Cartoon reproduced by permission of Outlook Publishing Co.

14. What activities of government other than educational activities made additional demands upon the tax dollar during the 1930's?

15. Show how the depression years stimulated interest in Federal aid for education.

16. What effect did the huge expenditures for national defense that began to be made in the summer of 1940 have on public-school support in the various states?

17. Read and report on the Social Science Research Council's "Research Memorandum on Education in the Depression."

18. What effect did the depression have on education in your own state? How many of the schools were closed for lack of financial support? How did the Federal government assist your state educationally during the depression?

CHAPTER XIX

TRENDS AND ISSUES AFTER 1930

Outline of the chapter. 1. Many changes took place in American education after 1929, when the depression began; but apparently confidence in education strengthened somewhat after the middle 1930's, although by 1941 full facilities for education had not yet been fully restored to the level of the middle 1920's.

2. The school population, which was largest in 1934, showed a decline later, although enrollment showed a slight increase, the highest being reached in 1934. Enrollments in elementary schools, however, were declining.

3. The teaching personnel reached a low level numerically in 1934 but between that date and 1938 it increased nearly six per cent. Salaries of teachers, which reached the highest point in 1930, fell by 1934 but had increased somewhat by 1938.

4. That some remarkable changes were still needed in the teaching personnel of the schools was clearly shown in 1938 by the Ninth Yearbook of the Department of Classroom Teachers of the National Education Association. The health of the teachers needed further attention.

5. After the onset of the depression, interest in Federal aid for education greatly increased. The report of the Advisory Committee on Education in 1938 revealed wide gaps in the extent of education in the United States.

6. Also there was increased interest in the education of teachers, as shown by the National Survey of the Education of Teachers in 1935 and the work of the Commission on Teacher Education of the American Council on Education.

7. There was increased interest in public-library services, the need for which was greatly emphasized by national organizations and studies.

8. Interest in the "Youth Movement" was greatly stimulated and led to new Federal activities in education, such as the CCC, the FERA, and the NYA.

9. Toward the end of the 1930's and especially after the summer of 1940, energetic interest appeared in education and national defense.

10. During the depression and after the middle 1930's, committees on the emergency in education and the Educational Policies Commission became very active and apparently useful.

11. Significant changes in higher education appeared, as shown especially by "new college plans." Interesting changes appeared also in graduate instruction and in the work of the junior college.

12. Problems in the education of the negro persisted; interest in graduate and professional work for negroes increased considerably.

13. Issues became somewhat acute between progressive and conventional education. The Aikin study and the study by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, concern over curriculum construction, the workshop procedure, loyalty oaths for teachers, a court decision on saluting the flag, and the Regents' Inquiry into the Character and Cost of Public Education in the State of New York attracted rather wide attention.

14. Evidence that the American people had become inclined to take democracy for granted led to wide discussions of "education and democracy" and "democracy in education," especially after the summer of 1940.

The American public has often been reminded that education, as noted in Chapter I, is the largest public business in the United States. In 1940 the value of its property was estimated at more than ten billion dollars, a sum that ranked second only to that of the national debt. About thirty-two million persons were enrolled in more than 271,000 schools of various types, with about a million teachers. This immense social enterprise probably cost nearly three billion dollars annually. These great resources of American democracy had been developed largely during the preceding four decades.

Many recent changes. The years that followed the onset of the depression which began with the economic collapse of 1929, discussed in the preceding chapter, witnessed many changes in education in the United States. Educational facilities, which were badly crippled during the evil days of the economic dislocation, were restored in part; and the confidence of the American people in education, which seemed robust in the fair-weather days preceding 1929, and then seemed to weaken for a time, strengthened somewhat after the middle 1930's. Nevertheless, the 1930's were both discouraging and foreboding to those who saw

hope in the ideals, aspirations, and practices of American democracy. For during these years mankind witnessed victories of totalitarianism and authoritarianism over democracy in many countries, and was stunned by the sudden and spectacular subjugation of democratic countries by military oligarchies, in diplomacy as well as in military battle. In democratic countries also there was an increasing awareness of the significance of the clash between concepts of government in the world. So aware of the crisis did advocates of American democracy become, that more and more emphasis came to be placed upon intelligent social and educational practices. The task of the school in American democracy appeared greater than ever before.

Under the democratic way of life which the American people have chosen for themselves, and under the social philosophy of democracy, some pertinent questions arose and pressed for answers. Among the questions are these: What is the responsibility of education in American democracy today? What has American democratic society a reasonable right to expect of its educational arrangements? What have American citizens a reasonable right to expect of their schools? How can education in American democracy make for better democracy in American education and make the United States a better place for human beings to live and make a living in? The people of the United States tended to the sober view that the main tasks of American education are to train and prepare intelligent, creative, and usefully productive citizens who are devoted to the ideals of American democracy, and that the continuity and the health of human association in the United States are now more dependent upon proper education than ever before. Here appears an emphasis that should be of interest to all the people of the United States.

But this change in emphasis came slowly and after some jolts. The years, lean in the financial support of schools,

that set in shortly after the startling economic dislocation which began in 1929, continued to be lean. Throughout most of the 1930's, schools, libraries, and other educational agencies in the United States were kept on more or less restricted budgets. As late as 1941 some American communities had not yet restored their public educational support to the level of the late 1920's. Some higher educational institutions had not restored the reduction in salaries made in the deep-depression years of the 1930's. And, as noted in Chapter XVIII, the behavior of the American people toward their schools was less friendly during this depression than it had been in the ten or a dozen well-defined economic dislocations and depressions which had occurred since the depression that began in 1837. But it is clear also that during those dismal years there was wider discussion of the purposes, practices, and failures of education, as indicated in the preceding chapter, than ever before in this country. And such discussion had a tonic effect.

School population, enrollment, and attendance. In 1938, the latest year for which official figures were available, the school population, ages five to seventeen inclusive, in the United States had more than doubled since 1880. This population was largest in 1934, when it was estimated at 32,392,749. In 1938 the school population was estimated at 30,789,000, the decline being caused chiefly by declining birth rates; and a further decline of the school population was expected.

Enrollments had increased continuously, from 9,867,395 in 1880 to 26,434,193 in 1934 — the highest in the history of the public schools in this country. Between 1934 and 1938, enrollments dropped a little more than 459,000. In 1880 about 65.5 per cent of the school population was enrolled in public schools; in 1938 the percentage was 84.6. Between 1880 and 1930, enrollments in the elementary schools showed an increase from 9,757,118 to 21,278,593,

but after 1930 enrollments in these schools decreased. Between 1930 and 1938 the decrease was about 7.2 per cent, and a further decline of 7.8 per cent was noted by 1945.

According to the predictions by experts, who badly missed their guesses, the decline in enrollments in the elementary schools of the United States was likely to continue through the next decades. The number of children between five and fourteen years of age, by decades, according to the experts, would be as follows:

1940	22,627,000
1950	21,911,000
1960	21,781,000
1970	20,586,000
1980	19,958,000

In the secondary schools the condition was different: at that level a continued increase in enrollments appeared in the late 1930's. "Falling birth rates have about reached the point where we would expect decreases in high-school enrollments," according to a statement of the Statistical Division of the United States Office of Education early in 1941, "but the tendency of a greater percentage of the population to attend high school will, no doubt, put off for several years the time when we may expect any falling off in the total high-school enrollments."

These enrollments approximately doubled in each decade after 1880; between 1930 and 1938 the increase in such enrollments was about 41 per cent, an increase equal to the entire public-high-school enrollment in 1917. The holding power of the high schools has also increased. In 1938 the graduates of these schools numbered 1,035,079. In 1920 about 39.7 per cent of the class that had entered in 1916 graduated. This percentage had increased to 42.5 per cent for the class that graduated in 1930 and to 52.3 per cent for the class that graduated in 1938. Between 1934 and 1938 the school term increased 2.3 days, and pupils

attended school 3.4 days longer in 1938 than they had attended four years earlier.

The teaching personnel and salaries. Because of the depression, the teaching personnel in the United States reached a low level numerically in 1934. Between that year and 1938, however, it increased about 5.7 per cent. The salaries of teachers, principals, and supervisors, which reached the highest point in 1930 (average about \$1420 a year), fell to about \$1227 in 1934; but by 1938 these salaries had risen to \$1374 a year. Conditions in the various states continued to make considerable differences in the average salaries of teachers, principals, and supervisors. If New York City and Buffalo are taken out of the calculation, for example, the average for New York, the wealthiest state in the country, "becomes \$1565 instead of \$2322." The low salaries of negro teachers in most of the Southern states tend to keep low the average salaries in that section of the country. In Mississippi, which showed the lowest average annual salaries in 1938 (\$479), the average for white teachers was \$630 and for negro teachers \$215 a year. In 1938-1940 there was litigation in some of these states to remove differentials in salaries between white and negro teachers, and decisions of the courts promised the gradual removal of such differentials.¹ In the main, also, and for the country as a whole, urban teachers received more than double the salaries received by teachers in rural places, including towns with a population of fewer than 2500.

"Fit to teach." No remarkable changes have taken place in recent years in the teachers of the schools. Today, tomorrow, and every average school day during the year more than 300,000 pupils will be taught by substitute teachers because their regular teachers are confined at

¹ See M. M. Charters (Editor), *The Ninth Yearbook of School Law*, American Council on Education (Washington, 1941), pp. 22-23.

come by illness. School work will be seriously interrupted, of course; for a substitute teacher, however efficient, seldom can carry on as the regular teacher would do. In many classes regular work will be laid aside until the teacher returns and the children will be given busy work, "just to keep them quiet!" In addition to this serious educational loss, there is an unfortunate economic one. Many of the 12,000 teachers whose places are being filled each day by substitutes will lose either the whole day's wages or whatever part of that amount must be paid to the substitute teacher. In other cases there will be no personal loss of salary for the teachers who are ill, but the school districts will pay the substitutes. In either event the sickness is costly, apart from bills for doctor and hospital. During one school year some 285,000 teachers are absent one or more days because of illness; they lose time totaling no less than 2,000,000 days.

"If ill health among teachers were responsible for nothing more than the absences and losses mentioned above, an urgent need for better teacher health would be obvious. Other unfortunate results, however, scarcely less serious than these—if somewhat less apparent—must be attributed to teachers' illness.

This statement introduced a careful study¹ of the health of the teachers of the United States by the Department of Classroom Teachers of the National Education Association. The purpose of the study was to get the facts on this important matter and to stimulate interest in it. Among other things, the study seemed to show that, generally speaking, teachers "have as much good health as they probably would have enjoyed if they had entered some other vocation." About 15 to 20 per cent lacked the vig-

¹ "Fit to Teach," Ninth Yearbook, Department of Classroom Teachers, National Education Association (Washington, 1938), p. 1. See also Emil Altman's "Our Mentally Unbalanced Teachers," in *The American Mercury*, April, 1941.

orous health necessary "for successful classroom work." But it appeared that the health of teachers had improved "through the years." The proportion of teachers whose health improves after entering upon teaching "is equally as great" as the percentage of teachers whose health declines. The superintendent of schools of Springfield, Massachusetts, had reported to the board of education of that city in 1896 that 84 per cent of its teachers believed that five or ten years in the schoolroom impaired the health of teachers. Maladjustments of personality, more often than physical disorders, are responsible for failure in teaching, the study seemed to show; and intense and persistent worries are health hazards "of first magnitude." The principal physical diseases and handicaps of teachers, according to the study, included "colds, grippe, tonsillitis, and all the common respiratory diseases; digestive disorders, including constipation; nervous disorders of various types; heart trouble; menstrual disorders; rheumatism; and abnormal blood pressure. Accidents and operations, too, account for a considerable part of teachers' health deficiencies.'

Federal aid for education; report of the Advisory Committee on Education. For nearly a century, law after law enacted by the Congress provided Federal aid for education in the states. This national policy became firmly established in several areas of education, and in the 1920's and 1930's, increasing interest appeared in extending Federal aid to the area of general education, for elementary and secondary schools and other educational activities. Advocates of such a proposal looked upon the failure of the national government to provide for general education as "a failure of the American system to follow through for the most basic of all our American institutions. It is a failure to carry forward the democratic idea of more equal educational opportunity for all American children."

Emphasis was given to this interest by the report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education, in February, 1938. That committee recommended Federal grants to the states for educational purposes, to begin in 1939-1940 (\$70,000,000) and to be increased through 1944-1945 to \$190,000,000. When this report was made, Federal grants for educational purposes exceeded \$50,000,000 a year. The committee recommended the continuation of the usual grants for vocational education in the public schools, vocational rehabilitation of the physically disabled, instruction in land-grant colleges, agricultural experimentation, and extension work in agriculture and home economics. At that time, vocational educational work alone was receiving about \$22,000,000 in Federal funds.

New grants recommended by the committee in 1938 were to be divided among six major funds, to be distributed among the states according to their needs and abilities. The largest of these proposed funds was for general aid for current expenses of operation and maintenance of public elementary and secondary schools. The second fund was for the improvement of the greatly needed preparation of teachers and other educational personnel. The third fund recommended was for the construction of school-houses to facilitate district organization. The fourth fund was for the improvement of the administration of state departments of education, which in most states greatly needed to be improved. The report also recommended aid for "civic, general, and vocational part-time adult educational activities," to be expended through schools and colleges in the various states, allocated on the basis of their adult population. Other grants recommended included those for rural library service and for scholarship aid, reading materials, and transportation for pupils in both public and private schools.

Throughout the report of this committee there was em-

phasis on inequalities in education in the United States, notwithstanding the tremendous increase in educational progress during the preceding three or four decades. The report pointed out that there were 127,000 local school jurisdictions in the United States, most of which raised their taxes separately; that in one state (Iowa) the most prosperous school district had 275 times the wealth per child of the poorest district; and that in some states the most able local school districts could provide \$100 or more per child for every dollar provided by the least able district. Under the recommendations of the committee the rural areas in the United States would be especially benefited. Bills were introduced in both houses in 1939. The Harrison-Thomas Bill (S. 1305) was reported favorably by the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. The Larabee Bill (H.R. 3517) was awaiting a hearing by the House Committee on Education in 1941, when war drums were beating loudly and war clouds were hanging heavily over the heads of millions of children throughout most of the world.

Wide gaps in the extent of education. The report of the President's Advisory Committee on Education disclosed some startling conditions in the wealthiest country in the world and in a democracy whose educational achievements quantitatively exceeded those of any other country in any period of the world's history. No other people in any period or place has ever undertaken to do or has done so much in the name of education as the United States. Nor has any democracy held out so much hope to its people. No country on earth ever has more enthusiastically or more frequently declared its devotion to universal, free public education. In providing quantity of education the United States is second to none.

But that report showed wide gaps between the aims of the American principles of education and actual achieve-

ments, notwithstanding the triumphant battles that have been waged and seemingly won in this country during three centuries to apply those principles in practice. It showed that more than 800,000 children of elementary-school age were not in school in 1930; 55 per cent of the young people of high-school age (more than 5,000,000) were not in school; and a national organization reported that about 3,330,000 American youth between the ages of five and seventeen had no access to educational facilities in 1938-1939. It was also revealed that in a large and powerful north-central state 55,000 school children had only ninety days of schooling annually; that some states expended less than \$30 per pupil annually as against more than \$74 in the country as a whole and more than \$115 in a few states; that of the 2,500,000 physically handicapped American children only about 13 per cent were receiving suitable education; that the expenditure per pupil in rural sections of the United States was only a little over \$67 annually, as against a little more than \$108 in urban communities; that the farmer parents of 4,250,000 children in the southeastern states received 2 per cent of the national income and that the city parents of 8,500,000 children of the northeastern states received 45 per cent of that income; that American farmers, with 9 per cent of the national income, provided in 1930 for the education of 31 per cent of the children of the whole nation; that 45,000,000 American people, mostly rural, were without access to free public libraries; that inequalities in educational opportunity were not only glaring as between rural and urban communities, and between one state and another, but also within a state. These conditions led multitudes of thoughtful Americans to inquire into the reality of the American principle of equality in educational opportunity.

Interest in teacher education. While this proposal for Federal aid was being made and widely discussed through-

out the country, especially between 1938 and 1940, the American Council on Education was projecting a study of teaching in the elementary and secondary schools of the United States. This undertaking, which was made possible by large grants-in-aid from American philanthropic foundations, was begun in January of 1938. A few years before, "extensive and revealing surveys" had been made of teacher education in the United States.¹ But the findings of those surveys, it was generally agreed, according to a statement of the director of the Commission on Teacher Education of the American Council on Education in late January of 1939, had affected practice "less rapidly than would be desirable."

The underlying principle of this work by the commission was a hopeful one, that provision for the adequate preparation of the teachers of the United States was a "social obligation" of increasing importance in a democracy in which all American young people of elementary-school, high-school, and junior-college age would probably soon be in the elementary and high schools and junior colleges. The teachers in these schools would have exercised a powerful influence upon these young people for twelve or fourteen years. "What those teachers are, what they know, and what they will do will be factors of critical importance for individuals and democratic society alike." These teachers should be viewed "as human beings," and attention should be paid to their needs as men and women and citizens as well as to their needs as specialists in fields of learning. The "good teacher" must be first a good "human being," hopefully asserted the director of this promising if expensive project.

Public-library service. Although books and libraries are increasingly viewed as important educational allies, library

¹ See especially E. S. Evenden, "National Survey of the Education of Teachers" (Six volumes, United States Office of Education, Washington, 1935).

development in the United States was not as rapid as lovers of books had expected and hoped it would be. The importance of the free public library has not been fully realized. Even in the wealthy centers library support is still a difficult task, and in the smaller and especially the rural communities free public libraries are often sadly lacking. According to a report of the American Library Association in 1938, about 45,000,000 persons in the United States did not at that time have access to free public libraries, — the conditions had not greatly changed by 1941, — and of the 3100 counties in the United States, fewer than 300 had county-wide library service. In general the United States spends about 37 cents annually per capita for library service. Two states at the bottom of the list spend only 2 cents annually per capita. Massachusetts, the state at the top of the list, spends about \$1.08, and New York spends about 62 cents. In twenty-two states at least half the population do not have access to free public libraries. A dollar a year per capita, or about three times the national average now being expended for libraries, is considered a reasonable expenditure for good free public-library service in the United States. President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Education, in 1938, included in its report recommendations for Federal grants-in-aid for library service.

The Library Service Division of the United States Office of Education was established by Congress in 1936 as the Federal agency responsible for assisting in the development of school, public, and other library services throughout the country. This division promotes library service through research, publications, and active coöperation with school, public, and college libraries.

The principle of state grants to public libraries in the United States is by no means new. Small grants for the establishment and annual maintenance of libraries have been made in the New England and the other Eastern

states for many years, beginning with Massachusetts in 1890. In 1896 a committee of the American Library Association reported grants in Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, and Vermont, with Delaware and Maryland following later. By 1941, state grants for school libraries were provided in seventeen or eighteen states, and the movement was gaining encouraging strength. Early in 1941 the legislature of North Carolina appropriated the sum of \$100,000 for aid to public libraries, after several years of agitation for such aid.

Problems of American youth. The youth problem, which became conspicuous in many countries, became acute in the United States, particularly after the onset of the depression. And the problems of youth revealed wide implications for education.

In its origin the American high school represents the principle of universal education on the secondary level. So extensive has been the application of this American principle of education that by 1941 there were approximately seven million young people enrolled in the high schools of the United States, about a million being graduated annually. Enrollments have practically doubled every ten years since 1890. In 1937 the high-school enrollment was about 1,735,000 more than in 1929, and at this rate of growth the time may come when there will be in this type of institution all the young people of high-school age in the United States.

But the economic-depression years called sharp attention to the problems of American high-school youth. The emergence of some of these problems came with almost startling suddenness. It was found that about one third of all the persons unemployed in the country were between sixteen and twenty-four years of age, and that about 40 per cent of the employable young people were unable

to find work. And the numbers of youth out of school also increased alarmingly. These economic and social problems of American youth caused many agencies to coöperate in efforts to solve them, and educational and other leaders soon came to believe that the responsibility for taking care of the unemployed but employable young people lay in large part at the door of the American educational system.

New Federal activities in education: CCC, FERA, NYA. The youth program as an emergency activity of the Federal government began in 1933 with the establishment of the Civilian Conservation Corps. In the same year a program of aid to college students was begun, at the University of Minnesota, with funds provided by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. In the following year this form of Federal aid was extended throughout the United States, under the direction of the FERA. The extension of such aid, before the Works Progress Administration was set up, called for an expenditure of about \$15,000,000. In June of 1935 President Franklin D. Roosevelt established by executive order the National Youth Administration, as an independent division of the Works Progress Administration, under an order which "prescribed rules and regulations relating to student-aid projects and to employment of youth on other projects under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935." The principal aims of the NYA were

(1) to provide funds for the part-time employment of needy school, college, and graduate students 16 to 24 years of age so as to enable them to continue their education; and (2) to provide funds for the part-time employment of youth from relief families on work projects designed not only to give young people valuable work experience, but also to benefit the communities in which they live.

The number of young people from sixteen to twenty-four years of age who participated and received aid in the

programs of the NYA rose from about 470,000 a month during the first half of 1936 to more than 580,000 during the first half of 1937. After that time the appropriation was reduced, but this form of relief work was continued.¹

In 1910 Professor William James of Harvard wrote an essay called "The Moral Equivalent of War," in which he advocated an organization of youths to combat the ravages of nature. Such a group, he felt, could do much to preserve for a peace economy the moral equivalents of the martial ideals and virtues of unity, surrender of private interest, and the development of loyalty, discipline, and hardihood. "To various and sundry hardy tasks in forests and fields, on roads and in mines, on ships, would our gilded youths be drafted off according to their choice, to get the childishness knocked out of them, and to come back into society with healthier sympathies and sobered ideas."²

In 1925 it was estimated that there were in the United States from five to eight million young people between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five who were unemployed. This number had increased greatly by 1933, and the increase brought with it many pressing social problems. The morale of youth was suffering tremendously. In his speech accept-

¹ For a full account of the nature and scope of the NYA see "The National Youth Administration," by P. O. Johnson and O. L. Harvey, with an introduction by D. S. Campbell, Staff Study No. 13, prepared for the Advisory Committee on Education (United States Government Printing Office, Washington, 1938). See also "Surveys of Youth: Finding the Facts," The American Council on Education Studies, by D. L. Harvey (The American Council on Education, Washington, 1937); "Scholastic, Economic, and Social Background of Unemployed Youth," Harvard Bulletin in Education, No. 20, by W. F. Dearborn and J. W. M. Rothney (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1938); "Youth-Serving Organizations, National Non-Governmental Associations," by M. M. Chambers, a preliminary report to the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education (American Council on Education, Washington, 1937); "Youth Tell Their Story," by Howard M. Bell (American Council on Education, Washington, 1938); "The Lost Generation," by Maxine Davis (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1936).

² See F. A. Silcox, "Our Adventure in Conservation," in the *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1937.

ing the Presidential nomination at Chicago in July, 1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt hinted at the founding of a youth organization for relief.

In March of 1933 President Roosevelt sent to Congress the enabling act, which provided for a youth organization of 300,000 persons. The first camp was established near Luray, Virginia, on April 17, 1933, followed by many other camps in various parts of the country, to relieve distress through the employment of idle young men on constructive conservation projects, to aid in the rehabilitation of youth, and to assist in the general administrative drive for economic recovery. Through July of 1937 more than \$1,900,000,000 had been expended for this undertaking, and of this amount \$400,000,000 had been sent to the dependents of the enrolled men. Millions of trees had been planted; diseases and pests had been checked on several million acres of land; more than three million small and forty thousand larger dams had been constructed to prevent soil erosion; thousands of forest fires had been fought; and other constructive services had been performed. Moreover, the morale of the enrolled men had been greatly improved.

The Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 extended the life of the CCC for two more years and increased the number of enrolled men to 600,000, concentrated in 2635 camps. Another Congressional act, in May of 1937, extended the life of the CCC to June 30, 1939; and by Congressional legislation effective July 1, 1939, its work was made a permanent part of the Federal Security Agency. This legislation made the enterprise no longer a relief organization, but rather separate and independent of all relief agencies. Although youths with parents on relief were given preference, enrollment was no longer limited to them. Training could thus be given to a broader section of American citizenry, to the dismay, it appeared, of some conventional American school administrators.

An important purpose of the work of the camps is to make the men enrolled self-supporting and useful members of society. After the camps were organized, the materials and methods of teaching and technical instruction were greatly strengthened. Increased emphasis was upon practical instruction on the job and improved counseling and guidance of the men.

The educational program of the camps appeared thoroughly practical. Attention was given to the needs of the individual members and to the facilities available in the various camps. Basic among the objectives of this work were the elimination of illiteracy, the reduction of common-school deficiencies, and training for useful jobs. The subjects selected by most of the young men included truck-driving, the operation of road machinery, the construction of bridges, the building of roads, concrete construction, telephone-line construction and maintenance, surveying, masonry, and lumbering. Attention was given also to general educational and vocational training. Many of the young men acquired skills which aided them in securing jobs in private industry. During the fiscal year of 1940 approximately 68 per cent of them were receiving training on such jobs.

In order to meet the needs of those who were illiterate or who had not finished the eighth grade, elementary educational programs were developed in the camps. During 1940 about 8000 illiterates were taught to read and write, and more than 500 young men were awarded eighth-grade certificates. Forty-one states and the District of Columbia issued regulations concerning the accrediting of class work carried on in the camps. About 50,000 enrolled men attended high-school courses and about 1700 took some college courses. Approximately 100 were awarded high-school diplomas and nearly 100 were awarded college degrees. The CCC aided more than 80,000 young Ameri-

cans who were totally illiterate when they entered the camps. Between 1934 and 1941 more than 566,000 young men were discharged from the camps to accept employment in private industry; in 1941 they were leaving the camps at the rate of 4000 each month to take jobs outside the CCC. Many thousands of them had opportunity to continue and to complete their elementary-school, high-school, or college work.

The National Youth Administration during the academic year 1938-1939 extended aid to high-school and college students between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four to the number of about 375,000, or approximately 45,000 more than in 1937-1938. In 1938 a new program was begun in the work of the National Youth Administration, designed to supply part-time jobs to young people who were unemployed and out of school. This program undertook to furnish work experience designed to help these young people later in finding permanent jobs in private industry. This increased program of the National Youth Administration was made possible in large part by increased funds provided for schools and colleges; the student-aid funds for 1938-1939 amounted to about \$3,000,000 more than those provided for 1937-1938. High schools received nearly \$10,000,000, and colleges and graduate schools about \$12,000,000. Although these increased funds enabled more young people to continue in school and college or to finish their formal education, the appropriation was viewed by the officers of the National Youth Administration as inadequate for financial assistance to needy and eligible students, most of whom were in the low-income group of families.¹

They tell their story. Howard M. Bell's "Youth Tell Their Story"² sheds much light on the youth problem of

¹ See "Federal Activities in Education" (Educational Policies Commission, 1939) for brief treatments of several types considered in this chapter.

² American Council on Education, Washington, 1938.

the United States. This study of the economic and social conditions and attitudes of 13,500 Maryland citizens between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four, presumably typical of such conditions throughout the United States, contains much information concerning these young people in their homes, in their schools, in their churches, at their work, and at their play. These young people were found and interviewed on farms, in coal mines, in cities, in country clubs, in schools, in dance halls, or wherever they spent their time. What were they doing, what did they want, where were they going, what were they thinking about jobs, school, marriage, their government, war, relief, and many other matters? These were questions to which this study sought to find answers.

Among the significant findings of the study were the necessity of equalizing educational opportunities, helping young people to get employment when they leave school, and encouraging them to gain economic security for themselves. The fear of economic insecurity was found to be the most terrifying fear of most of these young people. Guidance of an intelligent kind was found a pressing necessity, as were more facilities for vocational training. The study also revealed the need for a thorough reorganization of secondary education in the United States. "There is abundant evidence that the secondary schools as now operated are ill-suited to a large percentage of youth attending them." The proper use of leisure time, as Herbert Spencer told the world nearly a century ago, seemed a different problem. The need for health education and for community planning for young people, and the implications for citizenship that appeared in the attitudes of these American youth, stood out in the findings of the study. This report represented one of the major achievements of the American Youth Commission up to the time of its publication. Other studies were made of youth in Penn-

sylvania and Maryland, in Dallas, Texas, in Muncie, Indiana, and in forty rural villages here and there in the United States.

Education and national defense. This phrase has been much on the lips of many persons and has appeared innumerable times in print since the summer of 1940, when Hitler walked into Paris. Apparently educational leaders in this country then began to think, as they had not thought since the World War of 1914-1918, on the relation of education to crises in democratic societies, and especially on its relation to the threats to American democracy. And since the summer of 1940 there have been more pronouncements on the subject of education and national defense than in any other similar period in American educational history.

National and local educational organizations, college and university presidents, prominent figures in politics, and leaders in numerous other fields of endeavor in American life began to emphasize the fact, as the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association of the United States and the American Association of School Administrators stated in one of its publications, that "a changed world situation calls for educational policies in support of the national defense."

If the American people can believe the things that they have heard and read, it is apparent that military and diplomatic events in Europe in recent years aroused in many of them in 1940 "grave concern regarding the future of their way of life and even of their existence as an independent nation." Not only did adults begin to be sobered by those events; the millions of young people who returned to school and college in the autumn of 1940 pursued their educational careers under circumstances more baffling than any which ever before had faced the youth of the United States.

Early in September of that year a committee representing

forty organizations met in Washington for the purpose of mobilizing the educational forces of the country in the interest of national defense. Energetic spokesmen at the significant meeting represented elementary, secondary, and higher education, vocational and technological institutions, and programs for adult education. The executive secretary of the National Education Association and the president of the American Council on Education became co-chairmen of a nationwide Committee on Education and Defense to coordinate all educational resources in any way related to the problem of national defense.

One of the objects of that coordinating committee was to disseminate information regarding defense developments in the United States. Another purpose was to encourage the maintenance and improvement of educational opportunities essential in a long-range national program. Other purposes were the immediate and continuous representation of organized education for "effective cooperation with the National Defense Council, the Federal Security Agency, and other governmental divisions." All these of course, were, worthy objects of intelligent and patriotic effort on the part of the American people. And all these activities were answers to Adolf Hitler and those who were under the delusion from which he suffered.

On June 23, 1940, the Congress appropriated the sum of \$15,000,000 for a summer training program in schools and colleges for workers essential to national-defense industries. Thirty thousand workers were enrolled in the program by July 15; a month later, nearly 93,000; and by October 31 about 242,000 persons had been enrolled. Six hundred cities cooperated, representing nearly every state, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and Hawaii. The emergency appropriation of \$15,000,000 was intended to promote the work through October. Later the Congress appropriated \$60,500,000 to provide for the training, in

vocational schools, rural schools, high schools, colleges, and universities, of youth and adults as workers to speed up defense industries and governmental services by June, 1941. The revised program included the continuation of the work ; short courses in colleges and in schools of engineering to meet the shortage of engineers in fields essential to national defense ; the training of rural and nonrural youth for national defense ; and vocational or related or necessary instruction for young people employed on work projects of the National Youth Administration.

Reports from all states received by the United States office of Education in February, 1941, showed that regular and defense vocational-school training was ahead of its schedule, planned to train 700,000 workers for defense industries by June, 1941. It was reported that if trends continued, about 1,000,000 persons would have been trained for defense occupations by that time. During the first six months ending January 1, 1941, records showed that 325,000 persons had been trained or were in training in the rapidly expanding program of vocational education. More than 800 of the 900 cities in the United States with vocational trade and industrial schools were making their facilities available for defense training, and more than 300 cities had put such schools on a 24-hour-day, 6-day-week schedule. Moreover, enrollments in the regular program for vocational education were the highest in the history of the country, having reached approximately 2,000,000. Vocational schools, in which the Federal, state, and local forces had been cooperating since 1917-1918, were serving a wider variety of needs than ever before in their 23-year history.

Committees on the emergency; Educational Policies Commission. Educational and other conditions growing out of the First World War led the National Education Association to appoint an emergency commission. The depression that began in 1929 created conditions which by

the end of 1932 justified the establishment of a second emergency commission, appointed by the National Education Association and the Department of Superintendence, which came to be known as the Joint Commission on the Emergency in Education. This agency began at once a program of action for the purpose of meeting educational difficulties which grew out of the economic dislocations. It worked through national, regional, state, and local educational organizations, prepared and published considerable factual information, sought the advice of competent authorities, both within and without the teaching profession, and undertook "to exert the full force of the million members of the teaching profession and the many millions of parents and citizens interested in preserving the idea of free public education and of making that idea increasingly articulate in improving schools and colleges."

The program of the commission, whose chairman was Professor John K. Norton, of Teachers College, Columbia University, was carried on through the headquarters staff of the two organizations which created it, developing the Division of Administrative Service, the Research Division, and the Division of Publications. A board of 476 regional consultants was appointed to cooperate in the program, which included regional conferences, a bimonthly news letter, which was widely distributed, radio broadcasts by prominent laymen and educators over national broadcasting systems, collection and dissemination of current information concerning the effect of the depression on education, and continuing surveys of those organizations which were critical or antagonistic toward public education and of agencies favorable to it. The work of the commission was very effective. Particularly important were its publications; and the theme of American Education Week in 1933-1934, sponsored by the National Education Association, the United States Office of Education, and the

American Legion, was "Meeting the Emergency in Education."

The Educational Policies Commission was established in 1936 by the National Education Association and the Department of Superintendence (which later changed its name to "The American Association of School Administrators"). The commission was formed upon recommendation of the Joint Commission on the Emergency in Education, which discontinued its activities in 1935. The purpose of the Educational Policies Commission was to take a comprehensive view of life in the United States in an effort "to stimulate thoughtful, realistic, long-term planning within the teaching profession; to encourage desirable changes in educational purposes, procedures, and organization; to review recommendations for the improvement of education; to make the best practices in education known and used throughout the country; and to develop a more effective cooperation among various groups interested in educational improvement." In short, its task was to determine the essential responsibilities of education in this country and to state how these responsibilities could best be met. The commission, composed of more than a score of distinguished American educators, engaged in extensive research and published many important books and pamphlets, including "The Unique Function of Education in American Democracy," "The Structure and Administration of Education in America," "The Purposes of Education in American Democracy," "Education and Economic Well-being in American Democracy," "The Education of Free Men in American Democracy," and "Learning the Ways of Democracy." Assisting the commission as consultants were more than 2000 officials of educational and regional organizations.

In addition to its many valuable publications the commission held a series of important regional conferences in

key places throughout the country, for the purpose of carrying the recommendations of its "Learning the Ways of Democracy" into the schools of the United States. This volume was the result of the work of a staff of six men whom the commission sent out in 1939-1940 to observe the practices of civic education in ninety selected secondary schools of all types in this country. Although the work of this commission was practically completed in 1940, the executive committees of the National Education Association and the American Association of School Administrators formed a new Educational Policies Committee for the years 1941-1944 inclusive, with purposes not altogether unlike those of the commission set up in 1936. The new agency, with purposes similar to those of its predecessor, was designed to give special attention to issues of educational policy arising from the national emergency.

Twentieth-century trends in higher education. In the early part of the present century some educational leaders began to draw attention to the apparent need of college students for more general education. In his inaugural address in 1909 President A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard University commented on this apparent need, noted that there was no certainty that American college students would be broadly cultivated without more general education, "especially in view of the omnipresent impulse in the community driving them to devote their chief attention to the subjects bearing upon their future career." A few years later President Alexander Meiklejohn, in his inaugural address at Amherst College, commented on the same subject, emphasizing the need for more attention to a "liberal education."

From 1918 there was a definite tendency toward general education, especially in the first two years of college, for the purpose of relating the work of the college more directly than did the older curriculum to the apparent life needs

of the students. This tendency represented an effort to offset the obvious disadvantages that followed the rapid increase of courses under the influence of the elective system. The increase of courses may have been caused in part also by conditions that appeared after the First World War, when multitudes of students crowded into the colleges and when the authorities of those institutions became zealous in expanding their plants and educational facilities. The economic crisis that began in 1929 brought depression to education also, and from that time college administrators and faculties were forced to reexamine and reappraise their work.

A tendency to provide orientation, general, or overview courses appeared, and soon such courses became very numerous throughout the United States. Many innovations in the collegiate curriculum were accepted widely. By 1936, orientation or survey course were found in more than 150 higher educational institutions, in the social sciences, in the natural sciences, and in some cases in the humanities. Composite survey course also developed. Such courses were not without their critics, however, some of whom argued that these courses did not go far enough, were likely to be superficial unless carefully guarded, and did not always serve "to break down the artificial barriers between various fields of learning." Nevertheless there seemed rather general agreement by both advocates and critics of survey courses and the general college that any intelligent effort to improve the work of the colleges and to reduce the rate of failures among college students was worth a fair trial. Many observers came to recognize the primary importance of the teacher in the college, whatever its curriculum or the machinery of its administration. The opinion grew also that, no matter what innovation or new plan or curriculum a college may adopt or devise, its ultimate success will depend upon its teachers, and that only through

effective teaching can real progress be made in higher education.

New college plans became numerous in the United States. The plan inaugurated at the University of Chicago in 1931 grew out of a long and careful study of conditions in that institution. Like other new plans in undergraduate instruction, the Chicago plan was widely publicized and rather high claims were made for its merits, especially by its energetic advocates. The general college at the University of Minnesota also attracted wide attention. This undertaking developed after many years of careful study of the program of that institution, the personnel of its faculty and student body, and its facilities, in an effort to perform its task better and to make a larger contribution in social service and scholarship. The courses in contemporary civilization in Columbia College, begun in 1918-1919, also attracted considerable notice. In 1938-1939 a general course in the humanities was begun in that institution and, according to report, developed very satisfactorily. But general and survey courses demand an unusual degree of coöperation by the various departments. Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, New York, and Bennington College, in Vermont, are interesting examples of innovations in higher education for women. Apparently the work of these institutions was built upon the theory in progressive education of the "activities program." Almost complete freedom is allowed students with reference both to their educational program and their social life.¹ An interesting example of progressive, or unconventional, coeducation appeared in Black Mountain College, in North Carolina.

A radical departure in higher education appeared in an experiment announced in 1937 at St. John's College, in

¹ William S. Gray (Editor), "Recent Trends in American College Education" (The University of Chicago Press, 1931). See also J. B. Johnston's "Scholarship and Democracy" (New York, 1937).

Annapolis, Maryland. The "New Program of Study" at this institution is not a college course, as that word is ordinarily used in the United States; nor is it a group or number of courses, either required or elected. An entering student may take either the old, or conventional, program or the new program. The latter is a complete and integrated curriculum that extends over four years. Once the student has selected the new program, however, he is required to take that program in its entirety. Comprehensive and general, this program is designed to afford ample opportunity for the individual interests and capacities of the students, and it leads to the degree of Bachelor of Arts. The program was open to freshmen who entered the institution in the autumn of 1937.

The new program is constructed so as to give a young man "a sound education and the capacity to think clearly and wisely, things which parents have of recent years found it harder and harder to secure for their sons." It is understood that this organization of the curriculum at St. John's reflects some of the principles of education discussed by President Robert M. Hutchins of the University of Chicago. The new program is based on a hundred or more great books of the intellectual tradition of the western world, beginning with Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and running through "Projective Geometry," by Veblen and Young.

Trends in graduate instruction. Trends in graduate instruction are not easily described, except perhaps in education. Although there is no comprehensive history of graduate work in education in the United States, it appears that almost any precedent can be found for almost any practice in graduate work in that subject. An issue which attracted some attention appeared between the degrees of Ph.D. in education and doctor of education.

It is not altogether clear when the first Ph.D. in education was awarded in this country. In 1899 that degree was

first awarded at Teachers College, Columbia University, recognized as high among the pioneers in graduate work in the field of education. Apparently the first university to give the degree of doctor of education was the Graduate School of Education at Harvard University in 1920. Other doctors' degrees in the same field were given before Harvard established the degree of Ed.D. Among these was that of doctor of pedagogy. It is possible that the Ed.D. was given as an honorary but not as an earned degree before 1920.

The chief characteristics of this degree include major emphasis on the "constructive solution of different practical educational problems by proven methods or techniques," and on the "mastery of educational subject matter in specialized fields rather than on research." As for the Ph.D. with a major in education, emphasis has tended somewhat in the direction of historical or scientific studies in the field of education and the development of new theories and new techniques. Apparently there is no complete agreement among authorities as to the different functions of the two degrees. In 1935 the Ed.D. was offered by about one third of all the colleges and universities, excluding teachers' colleges, that offered the Ph.D. with a major in the field of education. The Ed.D. was not offered as the only doctorate in these institutions, but was parallel to the Ph.D., which was offered in the same institutions. The number of institutions offering the Ed.D. seemed increasing.

Two questions or issues appear in any consideration of the two degrees. One of these is the question of administrative policy and control. Is the transfer of control from the graduate school to the school of education made for the purpose of escaping some of the requirements set up by the graduate faculty for the doctorate? Another question often asked is this: Do the changes that are made in

the requirements for the Ed.D. tend to cheapen the doctorate? This is often asked not only by candidates and professors of education but sometimes by employers.

The history of graduate work in the United States indicates imitativeness, which is a marked characteristic of higher education in this country. It also provides additional evidence of the fact that the people of this country have been increasingly degree-minded, ever since President Increase Mather "transformed Harvard from a college to a university by the simple expedient of bestowing upon himself the title of doctor of divinity and conferring the same degree upon certain of his confreres, who then constituted themselves the Faculty of the School of Theology." Criticisms of the mania for degrees have been made time and time again in this country. Higher diplomas for a long time were sold openly and shamelessly, and protests against this disgrace were made as early as 1876. The Ph.D. was conferred as an honorary degree as late as 1912; and the class of 1869 at Harvard is reported to have been the last at that institution "whose members were allowed to take the M.A. for 'keeping out of jail five years and paying five dollars,' as the saying was."

The increase in degrees has become quite confusing. It is sometimes charged that the graduate school "has been the sacred cow in American education, to be worshiped rather than studied, understood, and improved." It has been stated also that the graduate school receives financial support beyond that provided for any other field of learning in the United States, "with the exception of modern medicine."

The junior college. Between 1930 and 1940 there was an increase of 40 per cent in the number of junior colleges reported in the United States and an increase of 21 per cent in enrollments in these institutions, which reached more than 236,000 at the end of 1940. Of the 610 junior colleges

at that time about 43 per cent were under public and about 57 per cent under private control; but 71 per cent of the total enrollment appeared in the publicly controlled junior colleges. The largest increase in enrollments in the publicly controlled institutions was in California, which continued to lead in the total number of junior colleges, with sixty-four in 1940. Texas came next with forty-three, followed by Iowa with thirty-six, Oklahoma with thirty, North Carolina with twenty-five, Illinois, Kansas, Missouri, and Pennsylvania with twenty-four each, Massachusetts with twenty-three, Mississippi with twenty-two, and Georgia with twenty. Publicly controlled institutions were found in thirty-four states and privately controlled institutions in forty-two states. Of the entire group of 610 institutions, 87 per cent were accredited by some national, regional, or state accrediting agency. The largest number (sixty-four) were in the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools and the next largest number (forty-five) were in the North Central Association.

The education of the negro. As noted (pp. 561, 562) approximately 10 per cent of the total population of the United States are negroes, who have been a part of the national citizenship since the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States in 1868. Most of these people live in the southern part of the United States. With the adoption of a policy of separate schools for the whites and the negroes, long a practice in these states, an additional educational burden was placed on the all-too-slender educational resources of that part of the country. Although considerable progress has been made in the solution of this problem, achievements in the education of the negro have not been distinguished, and many inequalities and discriminations against them still exist.

In 1940 about 75 per cent of all negro workers in the

United States were classified as unskilled or semiskilled. Only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent were ranked in the professional class. The average annual wages of the negro workers in seventeen Southern states are very much lower than those for the white workers. Sixty-five per cent of the negroes gainfully employed in the United States are in agriculture and domestic service. The income of the negro workers is too low to provide the necessities for healthful living and vocational efficiency. Negro workers are vocationally unprepared, and they are poorly distributed through the wide ranges of occupations offering employment.

The conditions of crime and delinquency reveal acute social needs among the negroes. As a group they contribute an excess proportion of the inmates of state and Federal prisons and reformatories. Ten per cent of the total population of the United States furnish 22 per cent of the committed criminals and 21 per cent of the juvenile delinquents. Lack of proper educational opportunities and of recreational facilities and leadership accounts in large part for these conditions.

In conditions of health, as of crime and delinquency, negroes suffer disproportionately. The figures of their death rates are 13.5 per 1000, as against 10.3 for whites. Tuberculosis, diseases of the heart, and diseases of infancy are the major causes of death. Poor housing, poverty, and ignorance largely account for these poor health conditions. Statisticians and other experts for insurance companies say that health "is basic to the general welfare of the negro as it is to no other race. An improvement in negro health to the point where it would compare favorably with that of the white race would at one stroke wipe out many disabilities from which the race suffers, improve its economic status and stimulate its native abilities as would no other single improvement."

Great progress has been made by the negroes, despite

their manifold handicaps. In 1866 they owned 12,000 homes; in 1936 they owned 750,000 homes. In 1866 they operated 20,000 farms; in 1936 they operated 880,000 farms. Their accumulated wealth in 1866 was \$20,000,000; in 1936 it was \$2,500,000,000. In 1866 the sum of about \$700,000 was expended on the education of negroes; in 1936 the sum was more than \$61,000,000. In 1866 the negroes had 700 churches; in 1936 they had 45,000 churches. The communicants had increased from 600,000 to 5,300,000 and the value of church property from \$1,500,000 to \$210,000,000.

The greatest progress of the negroes during the period from 1866 to 1936 appears in education. In 1866 about 10 per cent of the negroes were literate; in 1936 about 90 per cent were literate. Enrollment in negro public schools increased from 100,000 to about 2,500,000; the value of negro property devoted to higher education increased from \$600,000 to \$65,000,000. During this period (1866 to 1936) some 132 negroes received the degree of Ph.D., 155 were elected to Phi Beta Kappa, and 100 were included in "Who's Who in America."

But fewer than 70 per cent of negro children attended school; negro teachers were underpaid—the average annual salary was less than \$500 in thirteen Southern states; fewer than 10 per cent of the negro children finished high school; the curricula and courses of study were generally traditional and were not related to the real needs of the negroes.

In 1940 the seventeen negro land-grant colleges enrolled about half of all negro college students in the United States (more than 75 per cent of those in public colleges for negroes), and received a major portion of Federal and state funds for the higher education of negroes. Out of 10,691 students enrolled in 1938 in the negro land-grant colleges, 58 per cent were in the liberal arts and sciences,

18 per cent in teacher-training courses, only 8 per cent in courses in agriculture, 9 per cent in home economics, 5 per cent in trades, and 2 per cent in special or short courses. The percentages of the degrees received in these institutions in that year were similar to those of enrollments.

Although 65 per cent of the negroes gainfully employed are in agriculture and domestic service, agriculture has received only 0.6 per cent of negro college graduates. Agriculture seems to enjoy little negro college-trained leadership. A similar contrast is reflected in the trades, while in education the opposite condition appears.

Between 1914 and 1936 the master's degree was conferred on 1476 negroes, but only one fourth of these degrees were conferred by negro colleges. During the same period the doctorate was received by 139 negroes, and all these degrees were conferred by institutions outside the South. Between 1929 and 1939 the undergraduate enrollment of the principal degree-granting institutions for negroes in the Southern states greatly increased, but little provision was made by these institutions for graduate instruction. A two-year study of college and university education for negroes was undertaken in 1939 by the United States Office of Education, for which study Congress had appropriated the sum of \$40,000.

The importance of this study was emphasized by the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in 1938 in what came to be called the "Missouri Case." In this case the court held that a negro citizen of Missouri must be admitted to the law school of its university, unless facilities equal to those in that institution were provided for him somewhere in Missouri.¹ This decision affected seventeen Southern states which, under their constitutions

¹ See M. M. Charters (Editor), *The Ninth Yearbook of School Law*, American Council on Education (Washington, 1941), pp. 124, 125; also the *Seventh Yearbook of School Law*, p. 146.

and laws, had long followed a policy of separation of the whites and negroes in schools. Some of those states undertook to make a beginning during 1939 to meet the demands of that decision, which was one of the most significant decisions affecting education in the United States in many years. Of these states certain ones provided for paying the tuition and other expenses of qualified negro graduate and professional students in institutions outside the South.

Progressive education. After 1920, so-called progressive education received wide notice in the United States, where many schools reportedly were established or reorganized on progressive theories. Although most of their theories can easily be traced back to the work and influence of earlier theorists, including Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Herbart, Froebel, and Dewey, and their interpreters or misinterpreters, the new progressives sometimes appear to claim credit for such theories. In the main these theories appear to rest on the contention that "vital personalities" can be developed best by active participation in social activities, and that justice and respect for personality — basic aspirations of democracy — can be gained best by acquaintance with and understanding of the intricate social, economic, and political problems of the complex modern world. Practically applied in the schools, these theories are believed by their advocates to result in greater freedom and more responsibility on the part of the children. Progressive educators insisted, as Herbert Spencer had done, that education should be life, and not preparation for it.

Progressive education, however, had many critics, some of them temperately severe. Some charged that the progressives were responsible for a relaxation of discipline and that too much freedom was allowed children who needed careful adult guidance; and some critics went so far as to say that so-called progressive education was neither progressive nor educational. True, the traditional school was a repressive

institution; but the critics said that too much freedom was dangerous, and William C. Bagley, formerly professor in Teachers College, Columbia University, and later editor of *School and Society*, among the foremost and most influential of American educators, pointed out again and again that "freedom is not a gift but a conquest." Some of Dewey's disciples seemed to be following him afar off and misunderstanding his basic teachings, and yet to have undertaken to cast out pedagogical devils in his name. He himself remarked that some children in progressive schools display "egotism, cockiness, impertinence," and disregard for the feelings of other people.

But the advocates of this new educational movement, who joined together in the Progressive Education Association (organized in 1918) and posed as having all the pedagogical answers to all the pedagogical questions, said that progressive education was "at once a protest and a vision." Progressive education, said the progressives, cannot be described. Apparently, it must be experienced like religion or love. But it did challenge "the authority, the repression, and the barrenness of an educational procedure" which had been at odds for countless generations with nature and in practice had defeated many of its own purposes. "It has created schools in which teachers and students study together happily, under conditions physically and mentally wholesome, in a richly stimulating environment, living in the fullest sense the life of today, to be ready for tomorrow." So said the progressives. The issues almost divided American education into two camps, as may be seen in John Dewey's "Experience and Education" and Boyd H. Bode's "Progressive Education at the Cross Roads," both of which appeared in 1938; William C. Bagley's "Education and Emergent Man," which appeared in 1935; and innumerable periodical pieces.

Apparently, however, notwithstanding its critics, the

progressive-education movement has had a considerable influence on educational theory and practice in the United States. It appears to have had influence on the tendency to broaden the concept of the school as a social institution, and to have helped somewhat to change it from an institution primarily concerned with the teaching of a very narrow curriculum to an institution increasingly concerned with the development of the whole child, as a personality and as a social being.

The Progressive Education Association, the official organization of the movement, has engaged in numerous interesting activities. Among the most prominent of these is the work of the Commission on the Relation of Secondary School and College, which engaged (see page 653) in an eight-year experiment with thirty secondary schools and many higher educational institutions. This experiment undertook to find out whether freeing secondary schools from the rigidity of college-entrance requirements and permitting them more freedom in their work would hinder the graduates of such schools in their work in college. The association's Commission on Secondary-School Curriculum directed research in an effort to reorganize the work of high schools so as to adapt it more effectively to the needs of secondary-school pupils. The association set to work other important commissions (including the Commission on Human Relations, the Commission on Educational Freedom, the Committee on Workshops and Field Services, and the Commission on Intercultural Relations), the result of whose investigations and findings are expected to be very useful. It also set up committees on progressive education in rural areas, on community relations and education, on home and school relations, on child development, on experimental schools, and on the curriculum of the preschool and elementary school. The workshop technique, now widely employed, was originated and greatly stimu-

lated by the progressive educators. The progressive movement was a distinctive feature of education in the United States.

The issues between the so-called "progressives" and the so-called "essentialists" were not clearly defined. For this reason violent disputes often arose in discussions of the issues. The critics have said and continue to say that progressive educational theory is soft. The progressives have said and continue to say that their critics are old fogies. Each side seemed to illustrate the truth that people are generally down on what they are not up on, as George Bernard Shaw is reported to have said, aptly enough.

At the meeting of the American Association of School Administrators in 1938 there were some arguments over the issues. The quarrel appeared also in New York City, where officials of the school systems felt called upon to defend the activity program begun a few years before as a six-year experiment with about 50,000 children in sixty-nine elementary schools.

About the same time the alumni of the Lincoln School of Teachers College, Columbia University, which had been on a progressive basis since its establishment about two decades earlier, were given the chance to say what they thought of its method. As in most disputes, opinion in this controversy was divided. Some Lincoln alumni said "Yes," while some said "No," to the question "Did the progressive methods of the school help you then and later?" Opponents of the progressive experiment in the schools of New York City charged "atheism" and "communism." Proponents of the plan answered, "Nonsense."

In the fall of 1938 the controversy seemed worthy of the attention of the Institute of Public Opinion, which asked a spokesman of the "essentialists" and a spokesman for progressive education to define the issues. The spokesman of the "essentialists" asked:

Should our public schools prepare boys and girls for adult responsibilities through systematic training in such subjects as reading, writing, arithmetic, history, and English, requiring mastery of such subjects, and, when necessary, stressing discipline and obedience, with informal learning recognized but regarded as supplementary rather than central?

The spokesman for the "progressives" asked:

Should our schools make central the informal learning of experience and activity work, placing much less stress on formal, systematic assignments, discipline, and obedience, and instead seeking to develop pupil initiative, discipline, and responsibility as well as mastery of basic subjects, by encouraging pupils to show initiative and develop responsibility, with teachers, while in control, serving primarily as guides?

The eight-year, or Aikin, study. The Aikin study,¹ referred to above (p. 651), was begun in 1932 by the Commission on the Relation of School and College of the Pro-

¹ See Dorothy Dunbar Bromley, "Education for College or for Life," in *Harper's Magazine* for March, 1941; also *Educational Method* for March, 1941. The thirty schools were as follows: Altoona Senior High School, Altoona, Pennsylvania; Baldwin School, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania; Beaver Country Day School, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts; Bronxville High School, Bronxville, New York; Cheltenham Township High School, Elkins Park, Pennsylvania; Dalton Schools, New York, New York; Denver Senior and Junior High Schools, Denver, Colorado; Des Moines Senior and Junior High Schools, Des Moines, Iowa; Eagle Rock High School, Los Angeles, California; Fieldston School, New York, New York; Francis W. Parker School, Chicago, Illinois; Friends', Central School, Overbrook, Pennsylvania; George School, George School, Pennsylvania; University High School, Oakland, California; University School, Columbus, Ohio; Germantown Friends' School, Germantown, Pennsylvania; Horace Mann School, New York, New York; John Burroughs Country Day School, Clayton, Missouri; Lincoln School of Teachers College, New York, New York; Milton Academy, Milton, Massachusetts; New Trier Township High School, Winnetka, Illinois; North Shore Country Day School, Winnetka, Illinois; Pelham Manor High School, Pelham Manor, New York; Radnor High School, Wayne, Pennsylvania; Shaker Senior High School, Shaker Heights, Ohio; Tower Hill School, Wilmington, Delaware; Tulsa Senior and Junior High Schools, Tulsa, Oklahoma; University High School, Chicago, Illinois; Winsor School, Boston, Massachusetts; Wisconsin University High School, Madison, Wisconsin.

gressive Education Association, under the direction of Wilford M. Aikin. Thirty progressive secondary schools in different parts of the United States — twelve public schools, twelve private schools, and six university high schools — were included in the experiment. The purpose of the study was to determine whether the graduates of progressive schools that had not followed specifically college entrance requirements could do as well in college as graduates from so-called traditional schools. The thirty progressive schools were left free to revise their curricula as they saw fit, ignoring requirements for college entrance and keeping in mind primarily the interests and needs of their students.

The findings of the work of the commission appeared in several volumes in the early 1940's. Before the appearance of the report, however, representatives of the commission reached some conclusions, among them that "preparation for a fixed set of entrance examinations is not the only satisfactory means of fitting a boy or girl for making the most out of college experience." Another conclusion from the evidence available was this: "It looks as if the stimulus and the initiative which the less conventional approach to secondary education affords, send on to college better human material than we have obtained in the past."

One of the first steps in the experiment was the agreement by 250 accredited colleges and universities to waive their technical requirements for admission so far as the graduates of the thirty progressive schools were concerned, and instead to admit graduates from those schools "on the basis of their achievements in a broad field and on their scholastic aptitude or intelligence rating." The colleges agreed to the plan, some making their own reservations as to methods of selection. For comparison a control group of students was selected by the commission. For every graduate of the progressive schools a "matchee" was chosen

who had presented from a traditional school the regular entrance credits to college, and who had about "the same intelligence rating, was of the same race, age, and sex, and represented the same type of family and economic background and the same size of community." The purpose was to compare "the two groups as a whole." It appears that the grades of the progressive-school graduates during the first three years of study were a bit higher than those of the control group. The progressive-school graduates showed a slight lead in every subject except foreign languages:

	PROGRESSIVE	CONTROL GROUP
English	2.54	2.47
Humanities	2.58	2.56
Foreign Languages	2.44	2.46
Social Science	2.43	2.39
Biological Science	2.48	2.47
Physical Science	2.46	2.41
Mathematics	2.56	2.44
Other subjects	2.61	2.50

The thirty schools in the experiment undertook also to develop in their students initiative and self-confidence. At college, these students appeared to take more active interest than the control group in all campus affairs except athletics. "The guinea pigs wrote more, talked more, took a livelier interest in politics and social problems, went to more dances, had more dates. On the other hand, they joined fewer religious groups than the students from traditional schools. Especially concerned with campus affairs were the graduates of the six most experimental schools. There were more dynamos than grinds among them." Apparently, the experiment with these thirty schools throws some more suspicion on the value of specific and rigid requirements for admission to college. Apparently, also, the teachers in these schools found it necessary to pay more attention to the interests and needs of their pupils.

The Southern study. Although not identified in any way with the Progressive Education Association, the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools began in 1937 an interesting experiment, a bit similar to that of the Progressive Education Association. Through its Commission on Curricular Problems and Research this organization began in that year a five-year cooperative study of secondary schools and higher educational institutions in the Southern Association. This study, not so pretentious or spectacular as the study by the Progressive Education Association, was designed to develop an educational program that would meet more nearly adequately the educational needs of high-school youth in the southern section of the United States.¹ Under this experiment schools and colleges were encouraged to modify their instructional programs. The purpose of the project was to adapt the work of the secondary schools more closely to the abilities and needs of their students, without reference to rigid college-entrance requirements. Thirty-three secondary schools, three in each of the eleven states having membership in the Southern Association, were selected to participate in the experiment. The colleges in the Southern states showed keen interest in the undertaking and gave it their cooperation. Summer conferences, somewhat similar to the workshops of the Progressive Education Association, were conducted also by the Southern Association.²

These and other experiments and studies seem tonic. They show threats to the academic lockstep and the ball and chain about education in the United States, threats which began with the rise of the Carnegie units many years

¹ See *Educational Method*, March, 1941, pp. 303-307.

² "Essentialists" in education, as well as energetic educational "progressives," may be interested in reading Dorothy Walworth's "Feast of Reason," (New York, 1941), a novel whose theme "is the debunking of the phony factors in 'progressive' methods of education." One reviewer said of this book, "Rabid 'progressives' should tremble in their modern boots."

ago.¹ Most of these experiments and studies seem primarily concerned with the graduates of high schools who go to college. A question many people asked and more were likely to ask concerned the kind of education young people in high school get who do not go to college, reportedly about 80 to 85 per cent of the total. This question was likely to become even more insistent than it was then.

Curriculum construction. Closely connected with the progressive-education movement was increasing interest in the curriculum. The two decades which followed the First World War witnessed in the United States efforts at curriculum construction more feverish than any period or place ever saw before. These efforts, especially energetic in the latter part of the period, spread widely throughout the United States and probably reflected confusion in regard to the aims of life among the American people.

This lack of definite educational aims or of definite educational direction drew wide and common criticism. Many aims were proposed, officially formulated, and published, often to the confusion of teachers, administrators, and the American people in general. In illustration of the multiplicity of aims, more than 1500 social objectives of English, more than 300 aims of arithmetic in the first six grades, and more than 800 generalized aims of the social studies had been listed in courses of study and special studies by 1941. In one course for the social studies in the seventh grade appeared 135 aims; a course in another subject contained more than 80 aims; and the objectives of a junior-high-school course were so numerous as to require many pages merely for their listing. On file in the curriculum bureau of an institution for the training of teachers were nearly 50,000 curricula which had been prepared by committees and in most cases published and distributed during these two decades. This interest in curriculum con-

¹ See R. L. Duffus, "Democracy Enters College" (New York, 1936).

struction and reconstruction may have been a healthy sign, but the general condition (which failed to improve with the numerous writings and discussions on the curriculum) seemed to reflect the absence in the United States of a consistent philosophy concerning the aims of life, from which the educational aims of this country should derive. The number of nostrums for the ills of American education is on the increase, but if proposed remedies provoke and promote wide and intelligent discussion of those ills, some good may follow.

Workshops. During the early years of the Aikin, or eight-year, study by the Commission on the Relation of School and College of the Progressive Education Association (1933-1941), the staff found it difficult to provide for sufficient consultation with the thirty schools participating in the study. As a result, a workshop was held at Ohio State University for six weeks during the summer of 1936. Thirty-five teachers, carefully selected by the staff of the study and by local educational authorities, attended the workshop. The following summer a workshop was held at Sarah Lawrence College, in Bronxville, New York, with 126 teachers from a wider range of subject fields than those represented at the first workshop, in which only teachers of Science and Mathematics participated. In 1938 four workshops were held throughout the country, attended by more than 500 students. In 1940 the Commission on Teacher Education of the American Council on Education established a program of workshops for college and university faculty members who were associated with the study of teacher-education. By 1950 the development of workshops had spread widely throughout the colleges and universities, were fashionable features of summer sessions, and in educational conferences, and were employed in many other educational activities.

The workshop technique or procedure, which gained in

popularity, was not easily described, even by its most ardent supporters. But under this technique or procedure,

The student brings a specific interest or problem which has arisen out of his experience as teacher and is afforded an opportunity to make an intensive study of the interest or problem; the student shares in the planning of a program of individual and group activities designed to meet his needs and those of his fellow students; the student is provided with easy access to the services of various staff members representing a variety of kinds of assistance ¹

Oaths of loyalty. Attempts to make teachers "patriotic" and to guard against seditious and subversive teachings in the schools have often been made in the United States, especially in times of stress and strain. During and after the First World War many states enacted legislation that seemed to violate the principle of free speech. The Lusk Laws enacted in New York between 1917 and 1921 were among the most notorious examples of such legislation. The red scare in the 1920's led to the enactment of laws prohibiting the discussion of Russia.

A usual form of the loyalty oath, required of teachers in many of the states, was about as follows:

I do solemnly swear, or affirm, that I will support the Constitution of the United States, the constitution of the state of —, and the laws enacted thereunder, and that I will teach, by precept and example, respect for the flag, reverence for law and order, and undivided allegiance to the government of one country, the United States of America.

1866, and in Rhode Island in 1917. In 1921 the states of Colorado, Oklahoma, Oregon, and South Dakota enacted such legislation. Florida did so in 1925, West Virginia in 1928, Indiana in 1929, and in 1931 California, Montana, North Dakota, and Washington followed. New York enacted the requirement in 1934, to be followed in 1935 by Arizona, Georgia, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, Texas, and Vermont. In 1935 the District of Columbia and twenty-two states had teachers' loyalty-oath laws, enacted by the influence of pressure groups.

Advocates of this kind of oath for teachers viewed it as a protection of "the sovereignty of the Republic." Opponents seemed to relate such legislation to the tendency to develop and use a variety of so-called patriotic exercises in the schools, to the practice of saluting the flag of the United States, to the close scrutiny and control of textbooks on history and other social subjects, to attempts at "monkey" legislation,—anti-evolution laws,—and to other real or fancied efforts to suppress free expression and academic freedom. This kind of legislation recalled the surge of interest after the First World War in educational legislation requiring the teaching of "Americanism." In the 1940's there was another epidemic of laws on loyalty oaths for teachers.

The National Education Association in 1936 restated and reaffirmed "its condemnation of the passage of special loyalty-oath bills by state legislatures," and urged the repeal and prevention of such legislation, in attempts to emphasize the injustice of singling out teachers as a special group to take such an oath and to protest against any means that would tend to stifle free expression and freedom of teaching and learning. In general it may be said that loyalty-oath laws for teachers have been widely resented and opposed.¹

Saluting the flag. In June of 1940 the Supreme Court of

¹See Howard K. Beale, "Are American Teachers Free?" (New York, 1936).

the United States affirmed the right of a local school board in a Pennsylvania town to expel from school those children who refused on religious grounds to salute the flag of the United States. The case involved two children, brought up in the teachings of a religious sect known as Jehovah's Witnesses, who maintained that saluting the flag was a violation of the Second Commandment. The Federal District Court for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania decided in favor of the children and ordered them reinstated. The local school board then made appeal to a Circuit Court of Appeals which upheld the decision of the lower court. But both of these courts were reversed by the Supreme Court of the United States, by a decision of eight to one. The majority opinion was written by Mr. Justice Frankfurter, who held that the American flag is a "symbol of national unity, transcending all internal differences, however large." The dissenting opinion was written by Mr. Justice Stone, who saw in the majority decision a threat to religious freedom. The Supreme Court reversed its first decision, however, in 1943.

The Regents' Inquiry. It was pointed out in Chapter XVIII that school surveys have been very numerous in the United States since the closing years of the nineteenth century. The first decade of the present century witnessed considerable development of scientific methods of measuring and appraising education and other aspects of social life.¹

One of the most comprehensive and thoroughgoing surveys appeared in 1938 in the publication, in several volumes,

¹It appears that the first time the word "survey" was used in a social study was in 1909. Paul U. Kellogg and Edward T. Devine made a study of the city of Pittsburgh, under a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation. This was described as "a rapid close range investigation of the ranks of wage-earners in the American steel district . . . , a demonstration in social economy made graphic against the background of a single city . . . ; an attempt to throw light on these and kindred economic forces not by theoretical discussion of them, but by spreading forth the objective facts of life and labor which would help in forming judgment as to their results. . . ."

of the Regents' Inquiry into the Character and Cost of Public Education in the State of New York. This study, participated in by many specialists, was undertaken in recognition of the great changes that "have come into the life of the boys and girls and men and women of this State, especially since the First World War. . . ." The regents began the study in 1934. The statements of the findings and recommendations of the inquiry appeared in the general report entitled "Education for American Life: A New Program for the State of New York,"¹ by Luther H. Gulick, director of the inquiry. Owen D. Young was chairman of the special committee on the inquiry and Samuel P. Capen was associate director. The new educational program outlined in that volume was presented as the basis for "a comprehensive reconsideration of the educational needs and policies of the State of New York." Other volumes dealt with various phases of education in that state.

As noted in Chapters I and XVII, making provision for appropriate educational facilities in the rural areas of the United States constitutes a persistent difficulty. Long has this educational problem pressed for solution. It was a concern of President Theodore Roosevelt and his Rural Life Commission in 1908, it received considerable attention in 1933 in President Herbert Hoover's Research Committee on Social Trends in the United States, and President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Education gave much attention to this problem in 1938. Notwithstanding the progress made in rural life in the United States since 1900, rural education still continues uneven in quantity and quality, and even in availability, as compared with education in cities. There is especial significance in the fact that the conditions surrounding the education of millions of rural youth in the United States arrested the attention of President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on

¹ New York, 1938.

Education. That report revealed some startling conditions affecting the education of rural youth in the wealthiest country in the world.

The startling conditions in the rural, and also in the urban, population of the United States doubtless drew attention to regional resources and education. The question came to be asked, and continues to be asked, why have not the facts of the natural and the human resources of the United States been used more fully in the schools and colleges of this country? As one result, wide professional and public attention was drawn to efforts to answer this question, which, however, remains unanswered. Even the workshop technique has been employed in coöperative efforts among educational institutions and specialists in the fields of natural and human resources and their relation to education, through the Commission on Resources and Education, in an effort to answer the question. This commission was composed of official representatives from the National Education Association, the Progressive Education Association, and the United States Office of Education, and had the coöperation of the National Resources Planning Board. The most nearly accurate report that could be made as late as 1941 was that regional conferences and workshops had been drawing attention to the question; and that some attempts had been made to locate the problem or problems that seemed to inhere in natural and human resources and education in the United States, to discover the significance of these problems, and to bring them to the knowledge of educational workers.

Education and democracy. Attention has been called many times to the relation of education to crises in democratic society and to threats to American democracy specifically. Particularly since the summer of 1940 the main task of American education has come increasingly to appear to be the proper preparation of usefully productive citizens

who are devoted to the ideals of the American democratic way of life. This, of course, has been the task of American education since it started its slow but persistent way in the conquest of this country. But it seemed a heavier task than ever before.

Apparently the American people have been inclined to take democracy for granted, just as they have taken for granted those dearest decencies of democracy: universal suffrage, the democratic school system, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of conscience, and freedom of assembly. Indeed, there is some evidence to indicate that democracy has been taken for granted even by some American educators, who should be among its most vigilant guardians. In the proceedings of the National Education Association during the first fifty years of its existence, the word "democracy" appeared only a few times, and apparently the subject of "Democracy and Education" was discussed only two or three times.

At the meeting of the American Association of School Administrators in Atlantic City in February, 1941, was reflected the increased and increasing concern of the United States for the cause of democracy and of national defense. The general theme of the convention was provision for the common defense, the promotion of the general welfare, and the safeguarding of the blessings of liberty. There seemed common agreement that the future of this country was "largely dependent on the extent to which our young people are taught to be loyal to our institutions and freedoms, upon their understanding of democracy, its strengths, weaknesses, and enemies, upon the efficiency of their vocational training and upon their willingness to sacrifice for the common good." Here was expressed the belief that the answers to the questions implied in these needs were primarily in the hands of the teachers and managers of the most important public business normally carried on in this country.

Public education has employed itself and has been employed to promote the common defense, the general welfare, and the securing of "the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." More and more, it was hoped, the American people were coming to believe, as Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler said in an address before the National Education Association in 1896, that only that democracy "will be triumphant which has both intelligence and character. To develop both among the whole people is the task of education in a democracy. Not, then, by vainglorious boasting, not by self-satisfied indifference, not by selfish and indolent withdrawal from participation in the interests and government of a community; but rather by that enthusiasm born of intense conviction, that finds the happiness of each in the good of all, will our educational ideals be satisfied and will free government be placed where the forces of dissolution and decay cannot reach it."

The dangers inherent in democracy have been discussed since the days of Aristotle. If education in American democracy places proper emphasis on individual responsibility for social progress, if it stubbornly resists the tendencies that grow out of that philosophy of government which today threatens the world, if it promotes real patriotism among the masses of the American people, then the perpetuity and integrity of American institutions are guaranteed. Now, as never before, if the educational history of this country teaches anything at all, the preservation, protection, and transmission of American democracy constitute the highest responsibilities of public education in the United States. The primary business of education in American democracy during any crisis, whether military or economic, was that of doing increasingly better what American education is normally expected to do.

The history of education in the western world shows clearly that there are only two ways of life for human

beings. One is regimentation, under which human beings do not themselves greatly count as individuals and as personalities. The other way is self-government, in which human beings do count. To this democratic way of life which the people of this country have set for themselves they will remain devoted if they continue to view education as indispensable to the success of popular government. Throughout the history of this country the belief has grown that the people could be prepared for self-government only through education. In this tradition the American people are determined to carry forward the work of their schools. The ideals of the founders and of hosts of others since their time must remain basic for American democracy and for American education, the unchanging purpose of which is the improvement and perpetuation of democracy. American education remains the key to American democracy and American democracy is the key to American education.

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QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. What were the conspicuous trends in enrollment in (a) elementary schools, (b) secondary schools, (c) higher educational institutions in the United States in 1950?

2. What was the purpose of the national survey of the education of teachers?

3. Examine and report on "Fit to Teach," the Ninth Yearbook of the Department of Classroom Teachers of the National Education Association, published in 1938.

4. What was the purpose of the Regents' Inquiry in the State of New York? What recommendations did this survey make?

5. What was the significance of such Federal activities in education as the CCC, the FERA, and the NYA?

6. Study and report on the activities of the Educational Policies Commission.

7. What was the significance of the new college plans discussed in this chapter? What is the difference between the Chicago plan and the Minnesota plan? Find out about the plan at St. John's College and report on it.

8. What are the criticisms of general, orientation, and survey courses in college? What are the advantages of such courses?

9. Find out from the report of President Roosevelt's Advisory Committee on Education as much as you can about public-library

services in the United States; about the conditions surrounding rural education in the United States.

10. Find out what you can about the Aikin study and make a report on it. How did that study differ from the study conducted by the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools?

11. Account for the wave of legislation requiring loyalty oaths of teachers in the 1930's and 1940's.

12. In 1940 the Supreme Court of the United States held that children could be dismissed from school for refusing to salute the national flag and in 1943 reversed the decision. Read and report on the arguments in each case

13. Make a study of the decision in the so-called "Missouri Case" in 1938, affecting graduate and professional work for negroes. If your state is involved, what is it doing to meet the requirements of that decision?

14. What are some of the persistent problems in negro education?

15. Account for the intensity of interest in curriculum construction.

16. What are the real points at issue between the progressives and the essentialists?

17. What do you understand by the workshop technique or procedure?

18. What are some of the trends in teachers' education in the United States today?

19. According to the American Youth Commission, there were upwards of 4,000,000 young people in the United States between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five who were not in school or at work in 1935. What were some of the immediate and some of the continuing effects of the activities of the Commission?

CHAPTER XX

THE ROARING FORTIES

Outline of the chapter. 1 The decade of the 1940's was unusually significant in the history of the United States and in American education.

2. Higher education was having a record growth, new institutions were appearing, New York provided for an immense plan of higher education, and a regional plan was inaugurated in the Southern states. Federal fellowships and scholarships were recommended, and the immunity of schools and colleges from taxation, as well as legislation on loyalty oaths, was becoming a vital issue. The junior or community college was attracting wide attention. Failures among students in high school and in college were disturbingly high. But despite difficulties and although jobs for the graduates would be scarce, more academic degrees were conferred in 1950 than ever before. University presses were attracting attention as an educational agency. The use of objective measures for admission to college were increasing.

3. As the first half of the twentieth century drew to a close, there was wide discussion of the future of private schools and the place of educational institutions free from political and other pressures.

4. Efforts to promote international understanding widened, through interchange of American and foreign teachers, the Fulbright Act, the establishment of Japan's International University, the work of the International Institute of Education, the organization and activities of UNESCO, and other means that seemed to show the growth of educational world-mindedness in the United States.

5. The American people were improving in health and becoming more and more health-conscious. The general death rate was declining and expectancy of life was increasing, but fatalities and disabilities from accidents continued to affect the national economy.

6. The seventeenth census (1950) was expected to disclose important changes in the American scene, including a great increase in the population, a western movement of the population, a decline in farm population, the migration of negroes to urban centers, and the increased employment of women.

7. Although teachers' salaries had improved over four successive years, inadequate educational facilities were generally reported in 1950, when it

was said that at least \$5,000,000,000 would be required to provide adequate buildings.

8. After long delays in providing adequately for their education, women by 1950 had apparently gained final and complete educational recognition when all branches of higher scholarship at Harvard became open to them.

9. Advancement in the education of the negro was more rapid in the 1930's and 1940's than ever before, but there was much litigation in the courts on issues involving equality of educational opportunity.

10. In the First World War the national government had gained useful experience for coöperation with educational institutions, and in the Second World War this experience proved itself the basis for an intelligent policy of vital military and scientific training. The record of educational institutions in both military emergencies was one of intelligent patriotism and high courage.

11. The marriage rate varied more widely between 1935 and 1950 than ever before, but the birth rate and the divorce rate were climbing and there was a considerable increase in illegitimacy.

12. The apparent tendency to overload the schools with new responsibilities, to inflate the curricula, and other alleged shortcomings led to severe strictures on the schools, which seemed to be coming more and more secular.

13. Fresh interest in the education of teachers appeared, but a survey by *The New York Times* in 1947 disclosed serious conditions: there was great increase in governmental aid for educational services of many kinds, but the bill for Federal aid to the public schools was temporarily shelved in early 1950 by a bitter religious issue, by fear of Federal control, and because it seemed "too hot to handle" in an election year.

As the decade of the 1940's drew to its closing year, an educational journalist¹ declared that the American people were in the "middle of the most amazing century in the long upward struggle of the human race." The American people, and the rest of the world in general, were in the middle of many new problems which seemed to baffle even the best minds. Nevertheless, Americans could still look into the future with optimism and there seemed to be no problems which, in the words of the educational journalist, "high ideals and intelligent persistence" would not solve.

¹Joy Elmer Morgan, in the *NEA Journal*, March, 1950.

A significant decade. The decade of the 1940's was highly significant in the history of American education. Many very important educational events took place, and there was a great deal of spirited and widespread discussion of many of the old issues and of many new issues as well. Before the United States got into the Second World War there was evidence of considerable confusion and uncertainty in American education and in other phases of American life. Conflicts in American culture were evident, as was pointed out by I. L. Kandel in "The Cult of Uncertainty."¹ Social, economic, political, and educational unrest was conspicuous, with wide criticism of educational theories and practices. After this country entered the war educational activities greatly increased, some of them in new and untried ways. Despite the confusion and the uncertainty and the conflicting theories of government and education, however, the decade will probably be accounted one of the most momentous in American educational history.

The relations between education and the national government greatly increased, and a new but very necessary and heavy emphasis was placed upon internationalism in education. The long agitation for Federal aid to education was perhaps more energetic in the 1940's than ever before, with the religious issue and the fear of Federal control prominently in the forefront. The issue of Church and State was sharper than it had ever been, with the exchange of opinions on Federal educational aid which occurred between Francis Cardinal Spellman and Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt in the summer of 1949 assuming proportions that made it an important educational event of the decade. At least two decisions of the United States Supreme Court dealt with the religious issue. In one of these (the *Everson* or *New Jersey Bus Case*), the Court in 1947 held constitutional a statute providing for the transportation of non-public-school children

¹New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943.

to school in publicly owned busses in New Jersey; in the other (the much publicized McCollum Case in Illinois) it held in 1948 that public schoolhouses could not be used for religious instruction.¹ Also during this ten-year period the Court, in 1940, reversed its former decision which affirmed the right of a school board to expel from school any children who refused on religious grounds to salute the flag of the United States. This reversal of decision on the issue was viewed as highly significant.

The decade also saw fresh efforts to "purge" teachers by loyalty oaths. Charges that these efforts were attempts to curb academic freedom were numerous, and the American Association of University Professors, which was reported "swamped" with complaints, conducted many investigations.² Investigations of the loyalty of teachers and their occasional dismissal on grounds of disloyalty, as well as prohibitions against their joining certain organizations, represented some major trends in the middle of the century. Educators saw in these trends evidence of the kind of "witch hunts" that had followed the First World War, and they vigorously protested against restrictive legislation and the investigations of teachers.

Other significant educational events of the 1940's included closer coöperation than ever before between higher educational institutions and the national government; President Truman's Commission on Higher Education which, among other recommendations, called for immense Federal funds for collegiate fellowships and scholarships and provoked sharp discussions; the organization of the National Citizens Com-

¹For interesting treatments of religion and the state and of religious education in the public schools, see "Law and Contemporary Problems," published by the Duke University School of Law in the winter of 1949, and "The Status of Religious Instruction in the Public Schools," published in June of that year by the Research Division of the National Education Association.

²See article on this subject by Benjamin Fine in *The New York Times*, May 29, 1949.

mission for the Public Schools which President James Conant of Harvard described as one of the most significant educational events of the first half of the twentieth century. In the Southern states a regional plan for specialized education at the college and professional levels was set up and attracted wide notice. There was increased pressure to end discrimination against minorities in schools and colleges. New York established a mammoth state university. Increased birth rates caused revision of earlier estimates about enrollments in the schools in the 1950's. There was a nation-wide observance of the ninetieth birthday of John Dewey. On April 24 of 1950 the Library of Congress, the world's largest storehouse of knowledge, observed its one hundred and fiftieth anniversary. The sending of "Education Missions" to Japan and to Germany in 1946, following some rather frank discussion of the conquerors' attitude toward the education of the vanquished, the proper appraisal of which must await the future historian, attracted wide notice here and abroad. Higher educational institutions cooperated with the Army and the Navy in what was perhaps the most extensive testing and training program the world had ever seen. The accelerated programs in schools and colleges in the interest of the war effort were criticized by some people as "bargain-basement education" but praised by others and defended on the ground that American youth should be given a "toehold" in college before being called upon to dig fox holes in Africa. There was litigation in some states which maintained separate schools to remove differences in the salaries of white and negro teachers. There was wide discussion over the inflation of the curriculum and the threat to the humanities when, through necessity of war, heavy emphasis came to be placed so suddenly on the natural sciences and the immediately practical subjects. There was interest in the question of the survival of the private school and increased interest appeared in adult education, as had been the case after the

First World War. The Progressive Education Association changed its name to American Education Fellowship. In the 1940's a novel form of Federal educational aid appeared: the GI Bill of Rights. And other legislation was forthcoming which provided for the education and training of veterans, and for the vocational rehabilitation of disabled veterans and others who had been injured in military service, industry, or other activities of the war effort—a huge and unprecedented educational undertaking.

Public concern over economic conditions. As the first half of the twentieth century came to a close, government payrolls were approaching the \$22,000,000,000 mark each year. Federal, state, and local governments accounted for nearly \$1 out of every \$6 paid out for salaries, and government wages were paid to about one out of every eight workers in the United States, including members of the armed forces and school employees. The defense establishments' military and civilian payrolls alone were taking \$60 of every \$100 spent by the Federal government on pay and allowances.

Education, roads, public welfare and relief, and hospitals for the handicapped accounted for more than two thirds of all spending by the American states: schools \$2,312,000,000; roads nearly \$2,000,000,000; public welfare and relief \$1,609,000,000; hospitals for the handicapped about \$581,000,000. In addition, the states were spending annually about \$71,000,000 for interest on debt and about \$179,000,000 for retirement of debt, according to the report of the Council of State Governments. The size of these figures would certainly seem impressive to people who examined them, but equally impressive was the fact that, although public concern and serious efforts to strengthen the basic structure of public education in this country had brought increased educational expenditures, wide differences appeared in the quality of the public schools in the various states.

The value of public-school property per pupil ranged from

\$600 to less than \$200 and expenditures for books and other instructional materials from \$8 to \$2 per pupil. The annual salaries of teachers ranged from more than \$3400 to less than \$1300. While all the states were making an effort to equalize the burden of public-school support among the local communities, and while they were attempting to ensure that the educational advantages available in all parts of the state met minimum standards, it was clear that certain essentials had to be provided before all the states could have sound organization and administration of their schools. Those essentials could be had, it seemed clear, only by continuous efforts to improve the quality of teaching; by the continuous collection and study of facts about the schools; by coördinated local and state educational policy-making, through which the will of the people could be expressed; by improved organization and administration by local and state authorities; and by sound plans of financial support.

There was increasing concern over the failure of the national government "to cut down its extravagant spending." It was pointed out that on top of a deficit of \$5,500,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1950, an additional deficit of \$5,000,000,000 was expected for the fiscal year of 1951. These estimates were made before the assault on the Republic of Korea which promptly called for even heavier expenditures by the United States. It was also noted that from President Washington's administration to the end of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's second term the total expenses of the government were \$179,000,000,000, and that during only five years of President Truman's administration, to the end of September, 1949, the total expenses of government were \$191,000,000,000.

Many people were becoming interested in the rapid growth of taxation in this country. Sometime before midnight of March 15, 1950, no fewer than 53,000,000 Americans paid an average income of one dollar a day to the government.

This levy provided \$19,000,000,000 of the \$43,000,000,000 needed to run the government that year. These same Americans and their families paid, through taxes on liquor, cigarettes, jewelry, and other luxuries, on movie tickets, and on corporations, about \$18,800,000,000; and when it was all in, the sum of \$5,500,000,000 more would be needed to pay the bills of the United States. At that time the government owed about \$260,000,000,000, a national debt of nearly \$1750 for every man, woman, and child in the nation. Here were some of the harsh facts that caused many people deep concern. Little wonder that not too many taxpayers were happy or optimistic when they turned in their "Forms 1040" to internal-revenue collectors.

Equally cheerless were other facts, probably less well known than those just mentioned. In 1950, American taxpayers were paying 15 times as much in income taxes as they had paid in 1930, when the income tax of the United States was only seventeen years old, having been ratified in 1913 as an addition to the Federal tax structure. By the end of 1950 the national debt would be ten times larger than it was at the end of the First World War. The total cost of running the Federal government in 1950 was nearly thirteen times greater than in 1930. The Federal deficit alone would be \$2,100,000,000 more than what all government activities had cost twenty years earlier. The Commission on the Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, appointed by unanimous action of Congress in July of 1947, and popularly known as the Hoover Commission, made its basic studies through twenty-three "task forces" and in 1950 recommended many places for economy in the expenses of the government. But President Truman was not pessimistic. In April of 1950 he reviewed his five years in office and said the country was in fine shape, with its foreign affairs on the upgrade, and he anticipated greater domestic prosperity and improved foreign affairs.

There were several reasons which were responsible for this sudden increase in the cost of government in only twenty years. In 1930 the government was composed of thirty-eight major departments; in 1950 there were sixty-one. In 1930 the government employed 600,000 workers; in 1950 it employed 2,100,000. In 1930 the people of the United States were supporting the government of only one nation, their own; in 1950 they were helping to support a score or more in addition to their own. In 1930 the population of the United States was about 123,000,000; in 1950 the government was serving a population of 150,000,000. The vast expansion of the functions of government in two decades had high implications for education in this country. The heavy costs of the activities of government during the years of depression, of the Second World War and its aftermath, and American aid to friendly nations through loans, the Marshall Plan, and the North Atlantic Pact were disturbing facts, but what should also have been disturbing was the fact that far too few adults, young people, and the educators in our schools and colleges knew how the government got and spent its money. In the early part of 1950 the Director of the Budget, Frank Pace, Jr., was reported as saying, "Our government is the creation and the servant of the people. I am constantly amazed that the people . . . are so poorly informed on how and why their government is spending their money." Was this a hint of something else for the schools to undertake, to inform and to keep the people informed about how the government got and spent its money? Already there was complaint about the inflation of the curriculum. What should the schools undertake to do? This was becoming a pressing question.

Record growth in higher education. Dr. Benjamin Fine, Education Editor of *The New York Times*, reported in March of 1950 that since the end of the Second World War the United States had experienced "a record growth in

higher education," and that between 1948 and 1950 "more than 150 colleges and universities have been added to the list of recognized institutions of higher learning in the United States Office of Education directory—more than in any comparable period in American history." At that time 1808 colleges and universities were listed, as against 1728 in 1949, an increase of eighty in twelve months. By March of 1950 eighteen additional colleges were reported to that office, most of them registered at the junior and community college level. About half of the institutions established since the end of the war were two-year colleges. Commissioner of Education Earl J. McGrath predicted that in the years ahead the junior-college movement would take the lead in the growth of institutions of higher education. In 1950 there were more than 500 recognized junior¹ and community colleges in the United States, and McGrath predicted that the number would be about 1000 within a decade. Based on trends in 1950, enrollments in higher education in the next decade would be about equally divided among the two-year, four-year, and technical institutions. One or more communities in each of twenty-four states were at that time planning junior and community colleges. The value of collegiate buildings, grounds, and equipment had increased by almost \$1,000,000,000 since 1940, from \$2,754,000,000 to \$3,692,000,000. Commissioner McGrath said that the unparalleled growth in higher education was a practical manifestation of the fact that in a democratic society "we believe in giving our young people an opportunity to develop their individual talents for their own personal benefits and for the improvement of our society at large." A strong system of higher education would, he said, prove a strength to elementary and secondary schools.

New York establishes a state university. The largest plan for higher education in the United States was made by the

¹For the latest information on the junior college, see "American Junior Colleges," published by the American Council on Education.

State of New York in 1948 after considerable discussion of the report of a state commission, appointed in 1946 "to examine into the need for and to make recommendations relative to the creation of a state university and making an appropriation therefor." The next year the life of the commission was extended to 1948 and legislation was enacted "in relation to the administration, supervision and coordination of existing state-operated institutions providing higher education" and "in relation to complaints against educational institutions for alleged discriminations in the admission of applicants." An extensive and distinguished study was made by the commission, the State University of New York was established, the board of trustees was appointed in August, 1948, and its first annual report was made, on January 17, 1949, to Governor Thomas E. Dewey, the Board of Regents of the State of New York, and the state legislature. Important documents bearing on this vast educational undertaking appear in Chapter 353, Laws of 1946; Chapter 695, Laws of 1948; Chapter 753, Laws of 1948; and the first report of the trustees.

Over the years thirty small institutions—teachers' colleges, agricultural institutes, a school of forestry, and a school of home economics—had been operated "by the state on a make-shift basis, with no over-all plan." The new state university absorbed these schools and began to expand their facilities under the principle, emphasized in the report of the commission, of making provision for "adequate educational opportunities for everyone, regardless of race, color, creed, national origin or economic status." At the time this action was taken by New York, the last of the states to establish a state university,¹ there were eighty-six private institutions of higher education in the state. Despite these immense facili-

¹Massachusetts in 1947 had changed the name of Massachusetts State College to the University of Massachusetts.

ties, many students had to leave New York to attend a college that was within their economic reach.¹

Officials of the new university promptly prepared the groundwork for the \$200,000,000 system of higher education. The legislature gave the institution "a mandate" to develop two medical centers, one in New York City and another upstate. Community colleges and four-year colleges were to be established. Under the law any city or county could request the state university to provide a community college within its district, the state paying one half of the capital outlay and one third of the cost of maintenance. The four-year colleges were to be provided almost entirely by the state. A large building program was launched, twenty-seven projects at fourteen institutions having received the trustees' approval by the fall of 1949. Dr. O. C. Carmichael, president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, became chairman of the Board of Trustees, and Dr. Alvin C. Eurich became president of the new university.

Renewed interest in the South. In an effort to improve educational conditions in the Southern states, more than one hundred educational institutions, members of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, undertook, in the 1940's, a cooperative study out of which came a volume titled "Higher Education in the South."² This was a report

¹For an interesting discussion of the possible conflict between the Board of Trustees of the new university and the Board of Regents (the University of the State of New York), which had been established in 1784, see Benjamin Fine, "Attack of Regents on New Board of Trustees Threatens Trouble for State University" (*The New York Times*, February 13, 1949, Section IV, p. 9). For New York's comprehensive postwar plan for education, see George D. Stoddard, "New York's Plan for New Institutes," *Junior College Journal*, Vol. XV (October, 1944), pp. 60-64; also "Regents Plan for Postwar Education in the State of New York" (Albany, The State Education Department, 1944); Alvin C. Eurich, "The Youngest State University," *The Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. XXI (April, 1950), p. 169ff.

²Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1947. Compare with the Harvard report, "General Education in a Free Society" Cambridge, 1945.

of the efforts of numerous committees which had been stimulated by and had grown out of what was known as "The Southern Association Study" of thirty-three coöperating secondary schools between 1938 and 1941 (see page 656), a project not unlike that of the Aikin or eight-year study (see pages 653-655). One important difference between the Aikin study and "The Southern Association Study," however, was that the latter had been interrupted by disturbing conditions and was never completed as originally planned: the war years and the necessity of military service made it impossible to complete the study of the college careers of those students who had been graduated from the thirty-three coöperating secondary schools. "Higher Education in the South" was, however, a sort of charter for improving conditions in education in that section of the country.

A unique plan in higher education and educational administration which attracted wide notice was undertaken in the Southern states in the late 1940's. When the Conference of Southern Governors met in 1947, one of its major interests was higher education in the South. These executives and some of their predecessors had seen increasing costs, expanding needs, and increased enrollments calling for more buildings, equipment, and enlarged facilities, as was the case generally throughout the country. Toward the end of 1948 fourteen governors and two hundred educators in the Southern states met in Savannah, in an effort to "bring to life the nation's first plan for regional education." They agreed to work together in planning and establishing regional educational facilities. A non-profit corporation now known as the Board of Control for Regional Education was formed. The governor and three citizens of each signatory state and a board of consultants were to serve with and advise the Board of Control, and a charter was provided.

The plan was to establish regional schools in the areas of graduate, professional, and technical education in those fields

where such education was not able to meet the pressing demands which were being made upon it. Plans were also made for a program to promote sound investigation and research into the needs of the region, in collaboration with institutions and groups of institutions, state committees, professional organizations, and public agencies. The participating states made legislative appropriations for work in veterinary medicine (\$254,000), in medicine (\$573,000), in dentistry (\$517,500), and for administrative services and operations (\$154,000)—a total of \$1,498,500. In a short time regional planning in graduate and professional education grew from a proposal to a working program, under which a state not providing training in medicine, dentistry, or veterinary medicine could send its students to one of the Southern institutions which were to provide such training. The home states of these students were to pay to the selected colleges \$1500 for each medical or dental student and \$1000 for each student of veterinary medicine. Actual operation began in the fall of 1949, and in 1950 there were 371 students in the plan. In medicine there were 100 negro students and 79 white students. In dentistry there were 66 white students and 51 negro students. In veterinary medicine there were 74 white students and 1 negro student. The total number was expected to be 600 in 1951.

The institutions providing regional higher educational services were as follows: in Veterinary Medicine—Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, Tuskegee Institute, and the University of Georgia; in Medicine—Duke University, Emory University, Louisiana State University, Meharry Medical College, Tulane University, the University of Tennessee, and Vanderbilt University; in Dentistry—Emory University, Loyola University, the Medical College of Virginia, Meharry Medical College, the University of Maryland, and the University of Tennessee.

This undertaking was the fruit of a sustained interest in regional planning in the South, which for many years had been examining and trying to remedy its many pressing problems, in large part through the pioneer work of Howard W. Odum, of the University of North Carolina. It is believed that this plan of coopération in higher education will be successfully achieved, and that joint planning and joint action should serve to reduce competition and needless duplication in the extensive educational effort of the South.¹

Federal fellowships for college students. President Truman's Commission on Higher Education, pointing to the "inadequacy of existing funds for scholarships and fellowships," had recommended in 1947 immense funds for a program of Federal fellowships. The amount was to be \$1500 a year for each of 10,000 students in 1948, 20,000 students in 1949, and 30,000 students in 1950 and through the school year of 1952-1953. Two of the twenty-eight members of the Commission, Msgr. Frederick G. Hochwalt and Martin R. P. McGuire, dissented from the recommendations on financing higher education. The subject provoked wide discussion, some people heartily favoring the proposal and others opposing it with equal vigor. It was a topic of consideration at the annual meeting of the Association of American Colleges in Cincinnati in early 1950, when President Truman was expected to ask within the near future a congressional appropriation for such a program, as recommended by his Commission on Higher Education in 1947. It was suggested in 1950 that \$300,000,000 be appropriated annually to provide scholarships in the sum of \$600 each for 400,000 undergraduates and 37,500 graduate students.

The officers of the Association of American Colleges led in opposing this plan at the Cincinnati meeting. Guy E. Snively, the Executive Director of the organization, said

¹Board of Control, *Southern Regional Planning in Higher Education*. Atlanta. Board of Control for Southern Regional Education, March, 1950

that such aid would lead to Federal control of education and to the "welfare state." He asserted that a college education was then available to ambitious and needy students through already existing scholarships, and that with a subsidy from the Federal government "young people will get the notion that we must have a real welfare state where the government will not only guarantee a college education but furnish suitable and good-paying positions thereafter." Vincent J. Flynn, the retiring president of the Association, described Federal scholarships for college students as "undemocratic and a form of class legislation," and saw no reason why "ordinary people should be taxed to give an education to those whose scholastic aptitude is higher than the rest. Many of our useful citizens are persons who were far from leading their class in college." Flynn's views, as quoted in the press, would seem to clash rather sharply with those of President Conant of Harvard, Chancellor Hutchins of Chicago, and with those of the great educational philosopher and statesman, Thomas Jefferson who, according to his educational plan for Virginia in 1779, would give preference in higher education to the able and superior students. President Byron S. Hollinshead of Coe College saw no danger in the scholarship program so long as the scholarships were granted to the students and not to the colleges. Dean Edgar C. Cumings of DePauw University said that the proposal carried with it little danger of Federal control, and Melva Lind of the American Association of University Women said that such a program was necessary to equalize educational opportunities.

The colleges and the courts. The attempts of higher educational institutions to solve their financial difficulties by "going into business" drew sharp debates at this meeting in Cincinnati. President Harold E. Stassen of the University of Pennsylvania was critical of the colleges "that have taken over companies to compete with other businesses in

the same field," and he said that if the trend went unchecked it would be a major problem in two decades. He called attention to complaints from corporations and industry that some educational institutions were abusing their tax-exemption status. President Carter Davidson of Union College thought that only those businesses "that are directly beneficial to the college's students, faculty, or guests who visit the campus should be permitted," and reported "that 445 colleges and universities were receiving income from other than traditional sources, representing an investment of from \$300,000,000 to \$400,000,000, including such enterprises as farms, stores, testing laboratories, cattle ranches, and orange groves."¹

The question of the immunity of higher educational institutions from taxation had become a rather heated issue in the 1940's. The practices and traditions of college and university exemptions from various taxes led to litigation which caused increasing apprehension among institutions, both privately and publicly operated. Some of the court decisions were viewed as "a handwriting on the wall."² After much litigation over the burning question of whether publicly operated institutions should pay a Federal tax on admissions to athletic contests, the Supreme Court of the United States, but in a divided opinion, had held in 1938 that the tax must be paid. Two justices dissented spiritedly and asserted that the state's immunity from Federal taxation clearly ruled out such a tax. The charters of some of the older privately operated institutions provided for the exemption of their property from taxation, and the issue as to whether such exemptions could be removed or altered by statutory legislation subsequently enacted became a lively one. In some cases the courts held for exemption, but in one case a state court held a somewhat

¹*The Key Reporter*, Spring, 1950, pp. 1, 7.

²See M. M. Chambers, "The Colleges and the Courts, 1941-1945." *The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching*, 1946.

different view. Phillips Exeter Academy in New Hampshire made application for abatement of taxes levied by the town of Exeter for certain years, because of an exemption clause of the academy's charter of 1781. The application was not approved by the court, which held that property exclusively used for educational purposes was exempt, but if used for other purposes was taxable. The principal's house as a private residence was taxable but as a place for official business it was exempt from taxation: these dual functions had to be separated and a proportional valuation put on each. Another building so contested was the heating plant, which served some buildings used exclusively for educational purposes and others not so used. M. M. Chambers, a staff member of the American Council on Education, believed that if such a case, as this should make its way to Washington and be affirmed there, it would have "significant consequences for a considerable number of the older privately controlled universities in several states, now enjoying permanent exemption from taxation by virtue of earlier interpretation of their charters by state and Federal courts."

Schools and colleges get surplus property. In a short period after the Second World War, 5500 educational institutions acquired from the government more than 106,000 acres of land and nearly 2500 buildings at an average cost of less than $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of the fair value of the property, or $\frac{6}{10}$ per cent of the original cost, which was close to \$500,000,000. They also shared generously in the distribution of Federal supplies, materials, and equipment, considered surplus to peacetime needs, which cost more than \$400,000,000. Large quantities of used or obsolete but still usable equipment and supplies necessary to educational institutions were made available to them from the armed forces, the Department of Agriculture, the Veterans Administration, and other Federal agencies. In the last half of 1949, for example, more than 27,000 surplus typewriters were distributed to educational

institutions. Surplus property was made available to local schools through Federal agencies in the various states.

Loyalty oaths again. As in other times of war and internal stress, continued efforts were made to "purge" teachers by oaths of loyalty and on the suspicion of disloyalty, which always lurks in high as well as in humble places (see pages 659-660). Teachers, administrators, and many others throughout the country observed these efforts with some irritation. Examples of legislation that attracted wide notice were the Ober law in Maryland, the Mehorter-Tumulty law of New Jersey, and the Feinberg law of New York, each of which was in litigation and held invalid by lower Federal courts, the decisions being appealed. It was no clearer in the 1940's than it had been earlier exactly what such legislation would accomplish.¹ A teacher bent on subversive activities would not hesitate to swear falsely, and—as Professor Carl Becker of Cornell had pointed out in 1935 in connection with the Ives law in New York—taking such an oath would not make teachers "support the constitution more loyally or discharge their duties more faithfully than they did before." In higher education the case that probably attracted most attention was in the University of California, where the Regents in March of 1950 had refused, by a vote of ten to ten, to rescind their demand that the faculties on the eight campuses of "the world's largest university" sign a special oath by April 30 or forfeit their positions. On Easter Sunday a special dispatch from Berkeley to *The New York Times* reported that the next day the students would protest in mass meeting the ultimatum of the Regents, and later a spokesman for the faculty in the academic "cold war" declared that if the Regents had their way the result would be critical for

¹Edgar W. Knight, "What Do Loyalty Oaths Accomplish?" *School Management*, Vol. XIX (August, 1949), p. 3. A Revolutionary War wit stated the matter this way: "When penal laws were passed by vote, I thought the law a grievance, but sooner than I'd lose a groat, I swore the state allegiance."

the nation. So critical did the issue become that the faculties of some universities agreed to give financial aid to those professors who would be dismissed. Fortunately, the controversy was finally compromised by a substitute for the drastic oath to which the faculties had so bitterly objected.

Discouraging conditions in higher education. As the fourth decade of the century was ending, educational institutions were facing heavy demands for increased facilities.¹ For physical equipment alone the colleges and universities were reported to need 265,000,000 square feet of space to take care of increased enrollments expected in the early 1950's. This needed space was in addition to the space of 341,000,000 square feet which in 1949 and 1950 was being used overtime. This additional space was estimated as equivalent to one hundred and thirty-three Empire State Buildings and would cost \$2,650,000,000, which, with the land and other equipment needed, would increase the sum to about \$3,500,000,000. To these costs must be added the cost of the additional teachers who would be needed for the expected increase in enrollments.

How to get these additional facilities was a question that puzzled the managers of higher education. Some institutions launched "drives" for funds, and some of these drives were marked by high-pressure salesmanship. Instead of being semicentennial, centennial, sesquicentennial, or tercentennial occasions, the drives were becoming annual affairs. Because of increasing taxes, individual gifts to the colleges and universities were not likely to be as large or as numerous as in the past. Income from endowments was declining. Tuition and fees were increasing and might have to stand further increases. But increased tuition, as a device for balancing budgets in the higher educational institutions, was

¹See *College Building Needs* Special Series No. 1, Office of Education, Federal Security Agency, 1949.

likely to be frowned upon as unhealthy social policy, because it would widen the gap—already too wide—between those who have and those who have not the financial means to go through college. The American people had a high stake in these baffling conditions which beset American higher education at mid-century. The national government recognized the discouraging conditions, and early in the postwar period Congress made legal provision for certain Federal agencies to share with the states and with the colleges the task of finding additional facilities necessary for the veterans who were taking advantage of the GI Bill of Rights. Congress expanded and liberalized the conditions under which schools and colleges could acquire surplus property, through the War Assets Administration.

As 1949 came to a close increasing concern was being expressed, as it had been expressed for several years, by a number of leading educators over the financial future of higher education in this country; with income from endowments steadily declining, with the prospect of philanthropic gifts somewhat clouded, the expenses of maintenance and the costs of construction frightfully high, and estimates of student enrollments varying greatly. Government and industry were giving 200 higher educational institutions about \$125,000,000 for research, an increase of 500 per cent over pre-war years, according to a survey made by *The New York Times*. In 1950, however, \$1,000,000 would not buy nearly as much research as it did in 1939. Higher education seemed to be in the midst of many doubts.

Despite difficulties and discouraging conditions, the United States Office of Education announced in April that in 1950 a record number of academic degrees would be awarded, which would include the peak of the wave of attendance by veterans. The estimate was: 428,000 bachelor's degrees; 62,000 master's degrees; and 6900 doctorates, an increase of 18 per cent over academic degrees awarded in 1949 and

double the number of such degrees granted in 1939. Graduate degrees would continue to increase.

In addition to financial uncertainty there was evidence of educational confusion in the institutions of higher learning. Many differing courses of study were open to the student who wanted a bachelor's degree from one of the 1800 higher educational institutions in the United States, but no two of these, not even in church-related and denominational institutions, agreed on the appropriate academic requirements for such a degree.¹ Moreover, there was a disturbingly high rate of student "mortality"; that is, the number of students who left college before completing the requirements for a degree. Archibald MacIntosh of Haverford College disclosed this condition in his study of students in 655 liberal arts colleges.² He found that half of those students entering the freshman class dropped out before graduation, most of them quitting before the end of the first two years; that the largest percentage (61.1) of those who dropped out was to be found in coeducational institutions with more than one thousand students; that such institutions with fewer than one thousand students showed a loss of 55.7 per cent; men's colleges with fewer than one thousand came next, with 55.5 per cent. Then followed women's colleges with more than one thousand students, with 50.6 per cent; women's colleges with under one thousand students, with a loss of 45.2 per cent; men's colleges with more than one thousand students showed a loss of 37.0 per cent; and junior colleges showed a loss of 32.1 per cent. It was explained that the low figure in the junior colleges was due in part to the fact that students were in attendance for only two years and many of them considered the work of the junior college the end of

¹Clarence E Lovejoy, "Lovejoy's Complete Guide to American Colleges and Universities" New York: Simon and Schuster, 1948. See also A. J. Brumbaugh (Editor), "American Universities and Colleges." Washington: American Council on Education, 1948

²"Behind the Academic Curtain" New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948.

their formal education. Academic failure was the main reason that most of these students left college; that is, F's or other grades of doubtful respectability. Financial conditions took their toll, too. But heavily at fault were believed to be the policies and practices of admission, perhaps a cavalier attitude toward the proper preparation for admission, and lack of adequate and mature guidance of the students after admission and throughout their academic careers. Improvements at this point, it was indicated, would save many students a sense of defeat and the taxpayers much money.

A history test. In the spring of 1943 a survey by *The New York Times*¹ of 7000 students in thirty-six universities seemed to indicate that college students in this country were "appallingly ignorant of even the most elementary aspects of American history." The disturbing feature of the study was not that the students could not recall obscure dates or "insignificant details." The alarming result of the study was the discovery that 25 per cent of the students did not know that Lincoln was President of the United States during the Civil War; 30 per cent did not know that Woodrow Wilson was President during the First World War; and 84 per cent, in the bicentennial anniversary of Thomas Jefferson's birth, could not point to two of the contributions made by that great American. The astounding amount of misinformation disclosed by the students was even more distressing than the lack of accurate information. Mississippi, Nevada, Oregon, and Wyoming were named as among the thirteen original colonies. The students were uninformed even on such fundamental matters as the freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights, which to many of them meant the right to work, the right to play, the right to happiness, or the right to choose one's own recreation. Some of them believed that it protected them against "want" or "fear." It was not clear how one could study the history of this country and not know how

¹April 4, 1943.

the American people gained freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, and freedom of assembly.

There were differences of opinion on the reliability and the validity of the test. A progressive dean of a progressive school of education remarked that the questions were not important. Another versatile professional educator disclosed that "knowledge or information was not worth anything unless it was worth something," whatever he may have meant by the statement. A professor in a technological school did not see "what the whole business had to do with winning the war. Of course American history is important but should not be emphasized at the cost of subjects like physics and chemistry." Immediately after the study was published partisans exclaimed that here was more cumulative evidence that current American educational theory was not what the progressives claimed it to be. There was a bit of evidence to indicate that the poor showing of the students was due to the neglect of history in the schools in favor of what had come to be called the "social studies," and that the extreme advocates of "social studies" had encouraged a contempt for the facts of American history. Another explanation offered for the disclosures was the low pay and the high rate of turnover of teachers. It was obvious that the secondary schools needed better teaching in American history, courses that would provide an intelligent picture of the growth of this country. "All the money in the world," said one commentator, "will not correct the belief expressed by many students that Thomas Jefferson was Jefferson Davis or that Texas, Missouri, and Ohio are located on the Atlantic seaboard." It was also argued that American history should be required of all college students. An earlier study made by *The New York Times*, in the summer of 1942, had disclosed that 82 per cent of the colleges and universities did not require the subject of their students. An analysis of the results indicated that freshmen who were recently out of

high school had either been poorly prepared or had forgotten what they had learned in American history.

Half the high-school students finish. While the colleges were searching their hearts about the high rate of failure among their students, educators were showing much concern about the fact that about one half of the high-school students were leaving school. Only about one half of the 1,700,000 who entered upon secondary education in the fall of 1949 would remain to be graduated, according to an extensive study of students who had withdrawn voluntarily from high schools in Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan, published in October, 1949, by the National Child Labor Committee. The majority, 54 per cent, left school at sixteen years of age and another 26 per cent at seventeen. Forty per cent of those leaving were intellectually normal or above normal, with I.Q.'s of 95 or more, and could have completed their school work without difficulty. Even the 60 per cent with I.Q.'s of 95 or less could have done the work if properly stimulated and guided, according to the report. The reasons the young people gave for leaving school came in this order of importance: they preferred going to work to going to school; they were failing and did not care to repeat the grade; they disliked a teacher; they disliked a subject; they were not interested in work at school; they thought they could learn more out of school. Recommendations of the study, conducted by Dr. Harold J. Dillon, executive director of the Pennsylvania Public Education and Child Labor Association, included: (1) more thorough student records; (2) a better knowledge of the students as individuals; (3) the ability to win their confidence and give them personal recognition; (4) an alertness for the early signs of trouble; (5) adequate counseling, begun early (in elementary school) and continued through graduation; (6) an educational program in which "students can experience achievement"; (7) demonstration of the relation between work in the school

and life outside it; (8) help in overcoming a sense of insecurity; (9) provision for the above-average students with below-average performance; (10) closer relation between the home and the school.

"Millions of B.A.'s, but No Jobs." In 1950 it was asserted that the hunt for jobs would probably become more and more difficult. A dispatch from the Bureau of Employment Security of the Department of Labor in Washington in March of 1950 pointed out that for the thousands of young people finishing school that year and looking for jobs, the hardest job of all would be to *find* a job, and the dispatch went on to say that graduates in 1950 would face much keener competition for jobs than they had for many years. The country's economy was not developing new "job opportunities as fast as the schools were preparing young people for their first jobs." To help newcomers to the labor market a "Job Guide for Young Workers" had been prepared and made available to employment offices. Although many jobs suitable for graduates would be available, the newcomers would have to work harder to get them because they would be competing with each other and also with large numbers of unemployed young people already in the labor market. The most numerous jobs available for young graduates were not "in glamour occupations and industries nor in jobs that necessarily require high degrees of skill and training. For the most part they were entry jobs requiring little experience but which offered opportunities for ambitious workers to get started in industry." One of the more important "white-collar" jobs that called for a relatively large number of beginners was the position of stenographer: about 200,000 secretaries, stenographers, and typists were needed annually in business, industry, and the professions. The total of 41,700,000 industrial and commercial jobs was 1,400,000 below that of the previous year.

Following the report in 1947 of the President's Commission on Higher Education, which proposed an enrollment of

4,600,000 students in the higher educational institutions of this country by 1960, Seymour E. Harris, Professor of Economics at Harvard, wrote about "Millions of B.A.'s, but No Jobs,"¹ a prospect that had disturbing implications. While at the beginning of 1949 college enrollments were about 2,500,000, there seems to have been common agreement among higher educational leaders that the institutions would enroll 3,000,000 by the 1950's. These astronomical figures indicated the rapid expansion of higher education in the United States since 1900, when the total enrollment in all colleges and universities was only 238,000. "Now less than a generation and a half later," Professor Harris said, "we have more than ten times that number and the President's commission proposes to double the present output of college graduates within another twenty years," an increase proportionally much greater than the gain in the general population of the country. In 1949 about 3 per cent of the population, or about 4,000,000, had been graduated from college. It was predicted from enrollments in 1949 that by the 1960's at least 10,000,000 people would have college diplomas and that two decades later there would be perhaps 15,000,000 college graduates, about four times as many graduates as in 1949. Professor Harris did not have difficulty in envisioning "a college-bred population of 30 million or even 45 million, if one counts all those who have had as much as two years of college. Indeed, if all the recommendations of the President's commission were carried out, the time would come when we would be confronted with a college-graduate population of as much as 25 to 30 per cent of the nation's labor force." He also pointed out that if it was assumed that college men and women in the 1960's were

¹*The New York Times Magazine*, January 2, 1949. See also, by the same author, "The Market for College Graduates," Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1950. In this book Harris says that by 1969 there will be three college graduates for every job they are prepared to hold.

to seek the same kinds of employment and in the same proportion as in 1940, there "would be far more graduates than jobs." The outlook in the professions was also dark. If the proposed increase in college graduates were to be followed out to the letter, 7,000,000 men and women with college diplomas would be looking for jobs in the professions by the 1960's—"a horde of would-be professional workers about four times as great as the number of professional jobs filled by college graduates in 1940." Of course a large proportion of these would be teachers, but Professor Harris thought it certain "that most of them would not find teaching jobs of any kind. . . . It would require a revolution in finance to increase teaching staffs by a mere 50 per cent within the next twenty years. Even then only three sevenths of the anticipated number of teachers would be able to find jobs in the profession."

"What would be the result of a rapidly expanding proletariat of the A.B. and the Ph.D.? Obviously any new outpouring of young hopefuls, with their special brand of aspiration and disillusionment, is of vital importance to the American economy as well as to the college graduate himself. If American colleges and universities doubled or tripled their output within the course of a generation, it would be a significant social change. The change has already begun to occur." Professor Harris warned against putting so much emphasis on the monetary value of a collegiate education and urged that more emphasis be put "on the intangible social and cultural values to be derived from learning. The time may be coming when we will have to start accepting the idea that education is life, not merely a preparation for it. As John Dewey put it, 'Living has its own intrinsic quality and the business of education is with that quality.' In any case, the graduates of the next generation will have to find more and more justification for their college education on other than economic grounds. . . . The boy or girl preparing for college has a right to know what to expect."

Increasing interest in objective measures. A significant feature of college education at mid-century was the growing interest in and widespread use of objective measures for admission to college. In 1948 the testing activities of the American Council on Education, the Graduate Record Examination, and the College Entrance Examination Board were merged to form the Educational Testing Service. Henry Chauncey, the president of this new organization, noted in his first annual report, in 1950, that during the initial eighteen months of the organization's activities more than five million of its tests were administered by schools and that more than three quarters of a million students took tests for admission to colleges, medical and law schools, graduate schools, and service academies. The research staff of the Educational Testing Service was then developing "new measures of aptitude and personality to aid in counseling and guidance. Tests and other devices to measure relative attainment of fundamental objectives of education, particularly at the high-school level" were also in the research stage, but it would be several years before these would be ready for general use, Dr. Chauncey predicted.

University presses. An important feature of higher education is the university press, which appears to have had its origin in this country at Cornell University in 1869, according to Chester Kerr's "A Report on American University Presses," which was published by The Association of American University Presses in 1949.¹ In 1937 Norman Cousins, who was then editor of *Current History*, and is now editor of *Saturday Review of Literature*, said that the university press movement was "probably the most notable development in publishing since the turn of the century." Cornell was followed by Johns Hopkins University in 1878, the University of Chicago in 1891, Columbia University, the University of

¹Copies of this very useful report, which was reprinted in 1950, may be had from the American Council of Learned Societies, Washington, D.C.

California and Stanford University in 1893, Princeton University in 1905, and Yale University in 1908. In 1949 members of the Association of American University Presses numbered thirty-five, and had published scholarly books, textbooks for elementary schools, high schools, and colleges, reference works, fiction, verse, drama, and a wide selection of miscellaneous items. In 1950 membership of the association consisted of the University of California, Catholic University, the University of Chicago, Columbia, Cornell, Duke, Fordham, Georgia, Harvard, Huntington Library, Illinois, Iowa, Johns Hopkins, Kansas, Kentucky, Loyola (Chicago), Louisiana, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Princeton, Rutgers, South Carolina, Southern Methodist, Stanford, Syracuse, Toronto, the United States Naval Institute, Washington, Wisconsin, and Yale. Cambridge and Oxford, in England, and a few other presses were affiliated.

The replies of the directors of the thirty-five presses to the question of the purpose or purposes of a university press indicate the significance of this rapid development in higher education in the United States in recent years. Among the numerous purposes set forth is included the extension of the university's "teaching and research beyond the classroom, the laboratory, and the professor's study" by the publication of scholarly research so as to fulfill the function of a university in a democracy—"the widest possible dissemination of tested knowledge" by publishing books that "contribute to an understanding of human affairs whether in the arts or the sciences." Another purpose is to make known and readily usable the results of scholarship and research by publishing books in all "fields of learning that seem to make a contribution to the sum of knowledge and experience . . ." and to satisfy the university's responsibility "for distributing the record of the scholarship created as a result of the

institution's regular program. . . ." High among the many purposes is the advancement of knowledge by seeing that no "meritorious scholarly work goes unpublished." The university press also publishes learned journals and in other ways disseminates knowledge and scholarship "in terms understandable to, and interesting for, the educated lay reader." Some of the directors were very specific in their replies "while others came out shooting in all directions." But, above all, there was a "striking amount of fundamental agreement, despite the apparent variances and despite actual differences in size, scope, and methods among the presses in question." Kerr presented a chart¹ which showed that the university presses published 16,524 books between 1869 and 1948; that during the ten latest fiscal years they published 5842 books; and that in the year of the survey (1948-1949) they published 727 books.

Can the private schools survive? As the first half of the twentieth century drew to a close many thoughtful people who saw public support and control of education gradually gaining monopoly were asking the question, "Can private schools survive?" This public monopoly had been gained first in elementary education. Then in the latter part of the past century and the early part of the present century public support gained a substantial monopoly in secondary education, and there was increasing anxiety and increasing reason to believe that it would eventually extend to higher education. In the January, 1948, issue of *Harper's Magazine*, Russell Lynes wrote on "Can the Private Schools Survive?" He inquired about the future of the independent schools, meaning chiefly the secondary schools, and discussed some of the significant issues involved in the question. Lynes said that anyone who had discussed private schools with public-school people found that this question seemed to go beyond the issue of the independence of the private schools. If there

¹Op. cit. p. 42.

were no private schools, and those parents who spent their money and influence on them had to send their children to public schools, would not all public education receive benefit? Would not these parents become more interested in the quality of education in the public schools and bring pressure to bear to have those schools provide that quality? And would not this reform improve the educational opportunities of all the children of this country?

He believed that this would be the outcome, that the level of education would be raised in those communities where appreciable numbers of children had formerly been sent away for their education, and that the public schools could accomplish almost any educational goal "if they had the financial support and intelligent backing of the whole community. But few communities (especially the small ones) could afford to have special schools, or even special classes, for the ablest boys and girls. It would be the wealthy suburbs that would benefit first if there were no private schools, and some city-school districts in which well-to-do families live." But this raised another question. Would not these special schools, or a limited number of better schools in the more favored communities, cause a social problem similar to that which the private schools had created—that of special educational privilege of the well-to-do? Mr. Lynes thought that there is often confusion between the idea or ideal of equal education for each and everyone, and equal educational *opportunity* for each and everyone. He saw peril in any educational system "that tends toward intellectual leveling off, and it is a mistake to think that intellectual leveling off of this sort is democratic. We need a variety of *kinds* of schools as a means of stimulating, not merely intellectual growth, but also inventiveness and the kind of intellectual independence that is basic to our society. Numerically insignificant as they are, the independent schools can provide an important element in this variety."

If the level of education can be raised only from the top, as Dr. Frank Aydelotte, president of Swarthmore College from 1921 to 1940, director of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton from 1939 to 1947, and the American secretary to the Rhodes Trustees since 1918, was quoted by Mr. Lynes as saying, "then there is a place for schools, free of political and other pressures, that have the resources with which to experiment, teachers who are well paid, and the advantages of a high degree of selectivity among their pupils. The problem is to make the independent schools as good as they claim to be (and this they can do only for themselves); to make them available to those who most deserve them and who will benefit most; and to make them responsible, not only to their closed group, but for the betterment of public education as well."

But Lynes said that "profound changes in society" since the heyday of these independent schools "have made them seem as much of an anachronism as the governess in her black frilled cap. The schools are too close to their own problems to see how tradition-bound they appear from the outside, not merely to those who have regarded them with suspicion for years, but to many who would like to patronize them but who distrust the imprint which they leave. They are too used to their comforts and luxuries; their often elaborate buildings, or their trappings that emanate decaying refinement, to see that these things have little to do with education and a great deal to do with the spirit that could be their undoing." There was nothing wrong with the basic aims, the ideals, and the variety of education these independent schools offered, but if they were to justify themselves, "they had to use their independence not merely as a barricade against the pressures they mistrust but as a weapon in the service of the entire community." It may be noted, however, that as long as there are wide differences in wealth among Americans, there will probably be some

differences in the American educational practices. In 1946 about 15 per cent of the families in the United States had "money incomes" of less than \$1000, while 6 per cent had "money incomes" of \$7500 and above. Twenty per cent had such incomes of between \$1000 and \$2000, and 22 per cent between \$2000 and \$3000. In discussing the availability of educational opportunity in the United States and the inequalities in family income, the President's Commission on Higher Education in 1947 defended its recommendations for scholarships and fellowships for the gifted young people. Jefferson, it will be recalled, recognized the edict of nature that made some people brighter, if poorer in this world's goods, than others and he urged more educational attention to those boys "most promising in genius and disposition . . . without favor or affection."

Similar conditions faced independent higher education and were being widely discussed. On the same day in early February of 1950 the presidents of two separate, eminent, privately controlled universities dealt somewhat pessimistically with almost the same question: the future of higher education under private support and control. President A. Hollis Edens of Duke University said to the Duke Alumni Club of Washington City that his institution was no longer rich in terms of the cost of operating a great university, and that its present major task was to provide adequate funds to do the job ahead. Duke was once a very rich university, a small institution suddenly endowed with great money. Today Duke University, like all other private colleges and universities, is facing times of severe financial stress. President Edens made a strong plea for the support of all such private institutions of higher education and declared: "It would be unfortunate indeed if private education in the United States were forced to discontinue its operation. It may be that we have more privately endowed institutions of higher education than we shall be able to preserve. Some of them may cease

to exist. But it is our duty to see to it that sufficient numbers of such institutions are maintained to preserve a proper balance in our educational effort. Freedom of education in America is due in no small part to the supporting influence of privately endowed institutions." Funds were needed for salaries sufficient to get and retain able professors and to bring into these institutions young men of high promise. Funds were also sadly needed, he said, for buildings and for scholarships, fellowships, and research. "The job of the university today is to train men not so much for vocation but for leadership tomorrow."

At the same time and a few months before he was to retire from the presidency of Yale University, where he had served with great distinction since 1911, for many years as teacher and from 1937 as president, President Charles Seymour warned that privately endowed universities would surely disappear unless they matched the sense of responsibility which state universities had assumed for the welfare of the community. He said that the great state universities and their necessary sensitivity to the needs of the communities of which they are vital parts "provide a challenging example of service for the privately endowed universities. It is important to note that their contributions to the higher learning are of the first order and their influence in the educational world is steadily increasing." Seymour maintained that the state universities "can offer much which lies beyond our competitive efforts, but we have our own peculiar values, the disappearance of which would be the nation's loss. We must be careful to put them at the nation's service. . . . If we prove our worth, our freedom will not disappear. The price of freedom is service." In his inaugural as president of Bucknell University in late April of 1950 Dr. H. A. Hildreth pledged himself to the preservation of independent colleges as a means of guarding "against the complete control of all education by government" and deplored the "ever-swelling

chorus in favor of giving a college education to everyone who has the ability to go to college." The responsibility of the less wealthy private institutions was to do fewer things for their smaller and more carefully selected student bodies, but to do them better than the ever-expanding state universities could do.

At least hinted at here was one of the deadly afflictions that had long characterized higher education in this country—competition. Other unfortunate characteristics had been imitation; the apparent effort of colleges and universities to promise to do too many things; and, as President Charles Dollard of Carnegie Corporation of New York said in his report for 1949, "to be all things to all men." There appeared to be more than enough for all the reputable institutions to do, without cut-throat competition, blind imitation, or institutional jealousies. At the inauguration of President Harry W. Chase as president of the University of North Carolina in 1920, President William Louis Poteat of Wake Forest College brought greetings from the other colleges of the state. "Competition?" he asked. "A lady standing on the beach quite ready for the surf explained why she did not go in by saying, 'Another lady is using the ocean.'"

Toward better international understanding. Some educational undertakings of more than national scope followed the Second World War and were watched with much interest. Among these were the interchange of American and British teachers, a program of traveling fellowships abroad, proposed and set up under Public Law 584 of the 79th Congress, approved in August, 1946, the establishment of Japan's International University, the activities of the International Institute of Education, and the organization and activities of UNESCO.

The British-American Exchange of Teachers was inaugurated with the school year of 1946-1947, in a program that

followed an official request from Great Britain to the State Department in Washington. The program provided for seventy-four teachers from each country in 1946-1947. The American teachers represented twenty-nine states. This number has since increased, and the program has been accounted a great success. The exchange teachers, who are carefully selected, exhibit great interest and enthusiasm for the undertaking. The program, however, began under many difficulties. As the exchange got under way, there were severe shortages of teachers in both countries, difficulties of travel, and shortages of living quarters. The success of the program has been due in large part to the coöperation which it received from local educational authorities in both countries. In addition "to the intangible results" it was and still is believed that constructive and definite educational benefits will develop from the undertaking for both countries, and that useful studies in which guest and host teachers may collaborate will come to publication. One of the major purposes of this interesting coöperative educational effort was the promotion of understanding and good will between the two countries.

The Fulbright Act. Public Law 584 was initiated by Senator James W. Fulbright of Arkansas, a former Rhodes scholar and former president of the university of that state. Under the Fulbright Act provision was made for sending American students abroad for study, with their expenses paid from the sale of surplus war equipment, and for receiving in this country foreign exchange students. The law also provided for "financing studies, research, instruction, and other educational activities of or for American citizens in schools and institutions of higher learning" in foreign countries or of the citizens of such countries in American schools and institutions of higher learning. The act further provided for the appointment of a Board of Foreign Fellowships by the President of the United States. This board was to represent

cultural and educational student and war veterans' groups, the United States Office of Education, the Veterans Administration, and both state-endowed and privately endowed educational institutions.

Change in American attitude. These efforts showed a remarkable change in the attitude of this country. Opposition to the European education of Americans had been vigorously voiced here as early as the seventeenth century, and this vigorous opposition continued through the Revolutionary War and even afterward.¹ Noah Webster had been very sharp in his criticism of the practice, George Washington had viewed it with "indescribable regret," Thomas Jefferson had warned against it. The General Assembly of Georgia had declared that sending youth abroad for education was a humiliating "acknowledgment of the ignorance or inferiority of our own." The Assembly expressed its displeasure over the issue by enacting a law which made aliens of those Georgians under sixteen years of age who resided three or more years abroad for their education, and excluded them from holding office for such a term upon their return. These expressions in the early days of this country disclosed a fear that foreign education would warp the minds of young Americans and make for disloyalty to their nation and the institutions at home. The recent efforts in the exchange of teachers and students were viewed as a heartening sign that the American people were growing much more world-minded. The exchange of students and teachers was not without precedent, although in these two programs new principles seemed to appear. There had been an annual exchange of graduate students between the signatory nations of the treaty of Buenos Aires in 1936, a major purpose of which was the promotion of Pan-American

¹See Edgar W. Knight, "A Documentary History of Education in the South Before 1860" Chapel Hill. The University of North Carolina Press, 1950 Vol. II, pp. 1-7.

understanding. And for several years South American countries had been sending picked students to the United States for work in certain fields, including public health and education.

Japan's International University. Of much interest was the announcement in the early part of 1950 that Japan's International University would be opened in 1952, that American professors would be engaged for it, and that one or more international houses would be provided for American and other foreign students and research workers. These undertakings were part of the report of the Education Exchange Survey group which investigated educational conditions in Japan at the invitation of General Douglas MacArthur. The university was to be non-sectarian and its purpose was to develop a program of graduate education based on democratic philosophy and Christianity. Secretary of State Dean Acheson in endorsing the plan said: "The faculty, both Japanese and international, is to be Christian, but there is to be no attempt to proselytize, for freedom of religion is one of the most important of freedoms." There were to be graduate schools of education, social work, citizenship, public administration, and a college of liberal arts, all designed to prepare leaders in education for the schools and colleges of Japan, for public service, and for social-welfare work.

Institute of International Education. Another significant activity was that of the Institute of International Education, which had been founded in New York City in 1919. Its overseas activities greatly widened, and by 1949 more than 2000 foreign and American students were aided, through fellowships and scholarships—an increase of more than 850 over the preceding year. Fifty-nine countries were represented in this program. It was also pointed out in the thirtieth annual report of the Institute that 277 fraternities, sororities, and students' groups, as well as private organiza-

tions and individuals, had assisted the program of bringing foreign students here, as compared with 115 such organizations and groups in 1948. In addition to this activity the Institute answered 100,000 inquiries from persons interested in foreign studies and gave advice to 10,000 people in its New York offices. The Institute's *News Bulletin* has wide circulation. The program of the Institute in 1950 included bringing students and specialists to the United States from Germany, Austria, and Japan in coöperation with the Department of State and the United States Army. A program of the Korean government called for sending students to study in this country. . . .

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). During the years of the Second World War the public and the educational profession showed a growing interest in the promotion of educational and cultural relations on an international basis and the creation and development "of an international agency for education to promote understanding and coöperation among the peoples of the world as a guarantee of peace." An important part of this immense task "was the reconstruction of education in the Axis countries and the reëducation of their peoples." This program was undertaken by the army military governments (to be assisted later by civilian educators), as each of these Axis countries went down to military defeat. "Education Missions" were sent to Japan and Germany in 1946 to advise the military governments in the over-all reorganization and reconstruction of those countries. Official reports of these activities followed the same year: "United States Education Mission to Japan" and "United States Education Mission to Germany."

Another part of the task was to provide aid, especially material aid, to the liberated countries in the rehabilitation of their school systems. This was provided first through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration

and then through UNESCO, which at its first meeting in Paris in 1946 undertook to raise funds for the purpose. The same year the International Commission for International Educational Reconstruction was formed, also to raise funds to aid educational rehabilitation abroad. Another important phase of the problem was the plan to create an international educational agency. Interest in this proposal had been stimulated by the Council of Allied Ministers of Education in London in 1942 and by "Education and the United States," reprinted in Washington the next year, and written by the American Council on Public Affairs—a report which grew out of discussions of a Joint Commission of the Council for World Citizenship and the London International Assembly. Attention was gradually turned to still other aspects of educational reconstruction by many organizations, and there was wide publication on the subject.¹

After some delays and uncertainties the decision was made to include in the United Nations Charter the subject of education as one of the important instruments for the maintenance of peace in the world. The constitution of UNESCO was adopted at a conference of official representatives of forty-four countries in London in November, 1945, and had to be ratified by at least twenty of the forty-four signatory nations before the organization could come into effect. In 1946 the Congress authorized the President to accept our country's membership in UNESCO and to establish a National Commission on Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Cooperation. Both of these actions, taken without opposition in either branch of the Congress, were unique in the history of this country.

The broad purposes of UNESCO included the stimulation of educational relief and the reconstruction and equipping

¹See I. L. Kandel, "The Impact of the War upon American Education," Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1948.

of schools, universities, libraries, churches, and museums. In the Philippines 362 libraries had been destroyed; in Belgium 4 museums were in ruins; in Poland 6300 teachers had been killed; the University of Vienna had been wrecked; 1326 churches in Yugoslavia had been destroyed; 1500 grade schools had been leveled in France; and this was just the beginning of the damage which needed speedy alleviation. Coöperation in all efforts to obtain a "free flow of information and free travel" was another broad purpose of the organization, along with the promotion of production and distribution of publications, films, and radio broadcasts, and the stimulation of an interchange of scientists, educators, and students. Other aims were to spread knowledge throughout the world, to teach the illiterate half of the world to read and write, to educate people to live in peace, to promote education in health through personal and community hygiene, to stimulate adult education, and to encourage academic, vocational, and domestic skills. And there were even further aims in view: to sponsor international institutes for the theater, music, and literature; to aid in the translation of great books and to collect information on the arts and sciences; to help identify and remove social, religious, and racial tensions unfavorable to peace; to encourage inquiries on the principles of human rights, democracy, and liberty; to analyze the basis of the ideological conflicts that lead to wars; to encourage the conservation of the world's natural resources; to promote research centers throughout the world; to open up hitherto uninhabitable areas; and to stimulate scientific developments to the benefit of mankind.

The first meeting of UNESCO was held in Paris in 1946, the second in Mexico City the following year, the third in Beirut in 1948, and the fourth in Paris, the organization's headquarters, in 1949. The reports of these meetings indicate the magnitude of UNESCO's plans and activities in

the interest of understanding and peace.¹ High confidence in the success of this enterprise was widely expressed, but any appraisal of its ultimate and permanent success, as of the "Education Missions" to Japan and Germany, must await the future historian.

Improvement in health. The year 1948 marked the centennial of the public-health movement which had been set in motion in England in 1848 with the passage of the first public-health act and the organization of the first general board of health in London. From those courageous beginnings developed extraordinary changes in sanitary and hygienic services which, especially during the past fifty years and more especially the past decade, had made human life more comfortable and happier throughout the entire civilized world. The first half of the twentieth century was a period of advancement in public health and in the medical sciences unequalled in all human history. The marked decline in the mortality rate in the United States since 1900 had been accompanied by an increased proportion of the population who would reach the average age of sixty-five.²

People become more health-conscious. At the middle of the century the American people were more health-conscious than they had ever been and their health was better, according to a report by Surgeon General Leonard A. Schule of the United States Public Health Service. The general death rate was the lowest on record. Improved conditions were

¹In addition to these reports the student should examine "Fundamental Education," a report of a special committee to the preparatory commission of UNESCO. New York, 1947. The book "lays the groundwork for one of UNESCO's major undertakings — the attempt to provide education for the immense numbers of people who lack the most elementary means for participating in the life of the modern world." The idea of "fundamental education" is more than an effort "to make the entire population of the world literate . . . It is wholly appropriate for UNESCO to engage in a task so novel and so far-reaching as Fundamental Education . . ."

²See Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, *Statistical Bulletin*, November, 1948.

due to a decline in deaths by communicable diseases, notably influenza and pneumonia, which were listed together, and tuberculosis,—the three major causes of death at the beginning of the century. In 1950 these diseases ranked sixth and seventh, respectively; influenza and pneumonia at 38.2, and tuberculosis at 30.2, per 100,000 people. More than 16,000,000 patients had received bed-care in hospitals, about 14,000,000 had had chest X rays, and more than 2,000,000 had visited their departments of public health to be examined for venereal diseases. The darker side of the picture revealed that cancer and diseases of the heart were increasing enormously as killers. The death rate from cancer in 1948 was 134 per 100,000, an increase of 12 per cent over 1940, and that from cardiac diseases was 323 per 100,000, an increase of 11 per cent over 1940. Cancer and heart diseases accounted for nearly half of all deaths, while mental disease was reported as the primary cause of ill health and disability. Dr. Schule said that the increase in heart and mental diseases, alcoholism, and accidents was a "symptom of cultural conflicts" which had origin in the physical environment. Heavy physical and mental strains, unhealthy housing, and the waste that was polluting the air and the streams were pointed to as harmful to health. But the United States Public Health Service saw enormous gains ahead for American health and the health of the world in the next half century.

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company reported in February of 1948 that people who lived in urban communities had a higher mortality rate than those who lived in rural communities. It also reported a marked decline in fatal accidents among women and a longer life-expectancy for the 3,750,000 babies born in 1947. Practically all of these babies would live to the age of six and enter school. About 3,700,000 would reach the voting age. More than 2,500,000 would live to be sixty-five years of age. If the

babies born in 1947 had been subjected to the conditions of mortality in 1900, 570,000 less children would have survived to enter school; 700,000 fewer would have attained voting age; and the number to reach the age of sixty-five would have been decreased by almost 1,000,000. This saving of human life was due in large measure to advances in medical science and public-health activities.

Accidents and the national economy. An increasingly heavy emphasis was being placed on "the fact that accidents affect the national economy more than any disease." Insurance companies and the National Safety Council were trying to drive the fact home. The Travelers Insurance Companies of Hartford made some observations about this gruesome blot on the American scene, in *The Human Race*, the fifteenth annual booklet of data on street and highway accidents, in "the real hope that a bit of satire may succeed in personalizing the lessons of safety where sterner warnings have failed. . . ." The publication disclosed that 32,300 people had been killed and 1,471,000 injured by motor vehicles in 1948. Fatalities were down by 300 from 1947, but injuries were up by more than 100,000. Highway fatalities had declined since the Second World War—a tribute "to the safety job that has been done. But the injured millions should be constant reminders that the job is far from completed." So critical had conditions become that many schools were putting in courses on rules of safety for drivers of automobiles and for pedestrians. This step led some critics to point to the "inflation" of the curriculum in the high schools, while advocates of the safety program urged the colleges and universities to do something about it. Said the Travelers Insurance Companies: "This situation will continue until schools of higher education throughout the land accept their responsibility for the training of young people in proper driving attitudes and procedures. Only a handful of the nation's schools are now offering such instruction. The ma-

jority still have no organized plan for safety education. The teaching, if any, is incidental. . . ."

The National Safety Council¹ pointed out that accidents caused more loss of working years than any disease, "a fact attested by an outstanding authority in the field of medical economics." It was well recognized "that only heart diseases, cancer, and cerebrovascular diseases took more lives annually than do accidents." More startling, however, was the fact that the national economy was affected more by accidents than by disease, causing more loss of working and non-working years of life than any disease except heart disease. Accidents in the United States in 1949 took the lives of 91,000 persons and inflicted disabling injuries on one out of every sixteen persons. The estimated cost in loss of wages, including the present value of anticipated future earnings, for deaths and permanent disabilities, medical expenses, overhead cost of insurance, property damage, and indirect costs associated with occupational accidents was \$7,400,000,000. The heavy toll represented a small drop from 1948 and probably resulted from systematic efforts to educate the people in the prevention of accidents. Mishaps on the highways led the list, with accidents in the home a close second. It was encouraging that the greatest decreases in accidents were reported from those communities in which the people had campaigned against accidents in much the same manner used in the "drives" against often fatal diseases. The death rate in 1949 in all types of accidents was over 61 per 100,000, the lowest rate on record, bettering the previous low rate of over 64 per 100,000 in 1948.

Some things the census was expected to show. In the early part of 1950 about 140,000 census-takers, or enumerators, were getting ready, beginning on April first, to conduct the seventeenth census. Statisticians had predicted that the population of the United States would be 151,000,000 in

¹*Accident Facts, 1949 Edition.*

16,000 incorporated cities and towns and on 6,000,000 farms. The enumerators would travel 25,000,000 miles to get this statistical information and other facts which were expected to disclose important changes in the American scene at mid-century. One thing the census was predicted to show was the greatest "between-census" increase in the population in the country's history. It was estimated that increase in births and a decline in the death rate since 1940 had added about 19,000,000 people to the population, as contrasted with an increase of about 9,000,000 between 1930 and 1940. The figure for 1940 was 131,669,275. For the first time in the country's history there would be more women than men; the excess expected would be "several hundred thousand," the result of the death of more males than females in recent years. There was an unprecedented gain in the number of married couples. There had been about 3,500,000 more marriages, as well as about 1,000,000 more divorces than had been expected by a study of long-term trends. A gain in the size of young families was predicted, but the trend may prove to have been temporary. The average number of persons in a family had been declining consistently for sixty years, from 4.9 in 1890 to 3.8 in 1940. There would be a substantial increase in the number of households: a survey in April, 1949, had indicated an increase from 35,100,000 in 1940 to 40,700,000 nine years later. There would be a decline in farm population, which was 30,500,000 in 1940 and estimated in 1949 at 27,800,000. The migration of negroes to Southern cities and the migration of Southern negroes to Northern cities would show a sharp shift in the negro population. Other changes which the census of 1950 was expected to show would include the increased electrification and mechanization of farms, increased employment of women, and the westward movement of the population. In 1920 there were 246,000 tractors on farms and 452,000 farms with electricity. The latest farm census in 1945 had reported

ten times as many tractors and six times as many farms with electricity as in 1920. There were indications that women employed outside the household had increased by about 5,000,000 since 1940. The three states on the Pacific coast were expected to show the largest proportionate gains in population, California leading with an increase of 3,000,000.

Some questions in the census in 1950 would be very different from those in previous counts. There would be emphasis on housing and on agriculture and other economic information, including income (asked of every fifth person), but the people were not asked, as they had been a century earlier: "Are you a pauper?"—"Are there any idiots in this household?"—"How many of your relatives are convicts?" And in 1850 the census lists had to be publicly posted so that the people could know whether they had been counted. Returns of census-takers had become confidential in 1880.

The taking of the census in 1950 differed from others in that advances in technology and invention would expedite the calculations and tabulations. Technicians in the Census Bureau estimated that more than 400,000,000 punch cards and more than 2500 card-machine operators would be used to punch 15,000,000,000 holes in cards, to be sorted electrically at the rate of 450 a minute. The complete tabulation and report could be expected by the end of 1952. "Looking to the future," wrote Roy V. Peel, Director of the Census, in *The New York Times Magazine*, March 26, 1950, "the Census Bureau and the Bureau of Standards are now building an electronic machine that will perform even greater wonders in tabulating facts. It will have a so called 'memory' and will make computations in a matter of seconds that would require months for human mathematicians," further evidence of advance in technology and invention and of the machine age.

Inadequate educational facilities in 1950. The results of a nation-wide survey conducted by *The New York Times* and published in that paper by Dr. Benjamin Fine on Janu-

ary 9, 1950, showed that more than 3,000,000 children would that year receive "an impaired education because of inadequate classroom facilities, overcrowded buildings, and poorly trained teachers," although conditions in the schools had somewhat improved during the previous year. The serious shortage of teachers that had sorely plagued American education for several years, especially at the elementary-school level, continued. With the exception of Arizona every American state reported inability to get adequately trained teachers for the elementary grades, and sixteen states reported a shortage of high-school teachers, although conditions were better than they had been in the years immediately before. In 1950 the schools of the United States were employing 86,000 teachers on "emergency" or substandard certificates—a decrease, however, of 19,000 from the school year of 1948-1949. One in every ten teachers in 1950 was employed on an "emergency" certificate, in contrast to only one in every four hundred before the Second World War. Double sessions and part-time instruction added to the confusion. About 76,000 teachers were needed for the elementary schools and 10,000 for the high schools. The survey showed that the schools faced "many grave problems" at mid-century.

At that time the schools were enrolling 25,000,000 children, an increase of 750,000 over the figure for the previous year. Dr. Fine predicted that enrollments would increase at about that annual rate for the next ten years and that by 1960 close to 8,000,000 more children would be enrolled. Twenty-four states reported that educational conditions were generally improved over the previous year. According to *The Council of State Governments*,¹ there were 75,566 one-teacher schools in the United States, Illinois leading the list with 6778. Iowa followed with 5637; Missouri with 5272; Wisconsin with 4475; Minnesota with 4421; Kentucky with 3462; Kansas with 3090; Michigan with 2942. The smallest

¹"The Forty-Eight State School Systems," p. 194 Chicago, 1949.

numbers of these schools were: Rhode Island with 26; Utah 28; Delaware 48; Nevada 93; Connecticut 115; Massachusetts 128; New Hampshire 133; New Jersey 136; Maryland 165; Washington 167. Thus, the need in 1950 was for well-trained teachers and better school buildings. It was estimated that at least \$5,000,000,000 would be required for the construction of buildings before adequate facilities could be provided. Twenty states reported that together they would spend about \$500,000,000 for that purpose in 1949-1950. New York was leading with \$95,000,000. The Middle Atlantic states were planning to spend \$200,000,000, and the Southwestern states about \$35,000,000. Operating expenses for elementary and secondary schools were about \$4,600,000,000, an increase of about 10 per cent over the previous year. Nearly every state was "pointing with pride" to its increased expenses for schools.

For the fourth year in succession the salaries of teachers showed an increase. In 1950 teachers would average \$2886 as compared with \$2676 in 1948-1949, according to Dr. Fine's survey, but in a few instances the averages reported were somewhat lower than those of the previous year. California led, with \$3940 as the average salary paid to its teachers. New York followed with \$3875; the District of Columbia with \$3793. Other states with averages above \$3000 included Massachusetts with \$3625; Arizona with \$3575; Michigan with \$3550; New Jersey with \$3460; Maryland with \$3449; Delaware with \$3325; Oregon with \$3305; Washington with \$3300; Indiana with \$3280; Rhode Island with \$3100; and Nevada with \$3058. The lowest salaries were reported in the South and the Midwest. Mississippi¹ remained at the bottom of the list "with an average of

¹The student should here examine "The Worst American State," by Charles Angoff and Henry L. Mencken, in *The American Mercury* for September, October, and November, 1931, and compare the statistical data there given with such data for 1940 and 1950. In that study Massachusetts came out as the "best" and Mississippi as the "worst" state.

\$1393 or \$27.78 a week, compared with a national average of \$55.37 a week." Arkansas came next with \$1675, South Carolina with \$1795, and Kentucky with \$1990, which was the only other state with an average of less than \$2000.

The education of women. Although this country was slow to provide adequately for the education of women and co-education in colleges was especially long resisted, that part of American education developed rapidly during the first half of the present century. The report of President F. A. P. Barnard of Columbia University in 1879 had "convulsed the educational world of that day by strongly advocating the admission of women" as undergraduates in Columbia College, and in 1902 President Nicholas Murray Butler of that institution declared that coeducation was no longer an issue. "The American people have settled the matter. . . . Why discuss the matter further?" But not everybody in higher education was of that mind. In his inaugural in 1869 President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard University had said that the Corporation would not admit women as students into the College proper, nor into any school whose discipline required residence near it; the difficulties involved in a common residence "of hundreds of young men and women of immature character and marriageable age are very grave. The necessary police regulations are exceedingly burdensome. The Corporation are not influenced to this decision, however, by any notions about the innate capacities of women. The world knows next to nothing about the natural mental capacities of the female sex." About the time President Butler was writing on the subject, President James R. Angell of the University of Chicago was writing: "To behold the campus dotted with couples, billing and cooing their way to an A.B., is a thing, it is said, to rejoice Venus or Pan rather than Minerva, and were it the frequent or necessary outcome of coeducation, the future of the system would certainly be in jeopardy."

Harvard goes coeducational. But conditions were rapidly changing, and a big piece of educational news in the late 1940's was the report that, after more than three centuries of high masculine tradition and prestige, Harvard had enlisted on the side of coeducation, and as a wartime measure permitted juniors, seniors, and graduate students of nearby Radcliffe College to attend its courses. Dean Paul Buck of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences commented: "It would be a recognition, which I do not think we can properly escape in the future, that Harvard assumes an interest in the education of women." The news of his plan caused one Boston newspaper to rush its sheets to the streets screaming on the first page: "Harvard Goes Co-Educational," which is said to have chilled the officials of the oldest and most eminent educational institution in this country. The Secretary of the Corporation, according to J. Anthony Lewis (Harvard, '48) in *The New York Times Magazine*, May 1, 1949, issued a statement "denying the entire implication." *The Harvard Crimson*, undergraduate paper, wrote cynically that "its Metropolitan rival's mistaken scoop" was an extravagant and absurd report; but a few days later the news bureau of Harvard issued a release to the press in cautious and very conservative language that the extravagant and absurd report was after all not extravagant and absurd, and within a year privileges of the "war emergency measure" were extended to women "in all but a few large freshmen courses." In 1947 the measure was made permanent when the faculty formalized "existing arrangements with Radcliffe."

The term "Joint Instruction" was coined as the Harvard "euphemism" to identify the existing arrangements, which meant nevertheless that Harvard had succumbed and, academically speaking, there were "Harvard women, like it or not." There was still deep resistance to the completion of the coeducational process in such areas, for example, as

extracurricular activities, because of "fear of publicity, philosophical Harvardianism and puritanism." Lewis noted that "keeping a Harvard name out of the clutches of a surprisingly provincial Boston press is harder than it sounds. The word 'Harvard' in a headline is worth more than a bathtub slaughter, possibly because Boston citizens do not love Harvard with full heart. And any signs of coeducation at sanctimonious Harvard are most highly prized journalistically." Philosophical objections reached back "to the concept of Harvard as something out of the mold of the rest of America." One dean feared that a further extension of coeducation might some day furnish Harvard with coeducational cheer leaders in the football stadium, a prospect that to most Harvard men—even those who were fond of girls—would probably be very dark and forbidding. Another official imagined the pictures of boys and girls whispering together in library corners or walking arm in arm under the trees on the banks of the Charles. "That's all very well, but it is not the Harvard way. With Joint-Instruction boys and girls can work together and still avoid each other's oppressive continuous presence."

Puritanism, Lewis wrote, "remains a strong force in the University," and in the case of coeducation it meant not trusting boys and girls to be left alone together except in the classroom, for "in classrooms—except possibly the largest and darkest of classrooms—one can reasonably expect the lecturer to be an effective chaperon. Outside the classrooms the difficulties grow." During the Second World War Radcliffe girls were admitted for the first time to the reading room of Widener Library, but to avoid trouble they were required to sit together behind pillars at the end of the room. When the new Lamont Undergraduate Library was opened, it was announced that girls would not be admitted to it. When the librarian was asked about this prohibition, he replied that there were too many "corridors

and alcoves. Why, if we let girls in we should have to hire a force of patrolmen to watch the dark corners, at enormous expense." Coeds and wives of professors and all other women were "allowed past the doors of Lamont Library only on Saturday afternoons," Lewis wrote.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century there had existed in Cambridge, Massachusetts, what was called the Society for the Collegiate Instruction of Women, whose students are reported to have sung a song, one stanza of which was:

"And in a few years more, we'll enter Harvard's door,
To seek the education which the college grants—
And so will our sisters and our cousins and our aunts."

It appears that from the beginning this society, which came to be known as the Harvard Annex, was closely associated in people's minds with Harvard itself. But the Annex did not have power to give degrees, and in 1893 had voted to transfer itself to the Harvard Corporation, which greatly amused that staid organization, whose treasurer wrote: "If we give our degrees we must give the instruction necessary to fit women for those degrees, and that means either a duplication of our instruction or to some extent coeducation. I have no prejudice in the matter of education of women and am quite willing to see Yale or Columbia take any risks they like, but I feel bound to protect Harvard College from what seems to me to be a risky experiment. . . ." The Corporation agreed to act as supervisor, and the Society for the Collegiate Instruction of Women renamed itself Radcliffe College. In 1641 Ann Radcliffe, Lady Mowlson, had given Harvard its first gift from a woman, £100. In 1894 the Legislature of Massachusetts granted a charter to Radcliffe on condition, however, that it would award no degrees without the approval of the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

In October, 1949, Harvard went further coeducational when Dean E. N. Griswold announced that qualified women would be admitted to the Law School beginning in the fall of 1950, the action being approved by the governing board of the university at the request of the faculty of the Law School. Commenting on the step, Dean Griswold was quoted by Lewis as saying: "Women have made a place for themselves in the law and . . . have come a long way since they were first admitted to membership in the American Bar Association in 1918. Opportunities for women in the law still are limited, however. . . . It is our expectation that we will admit only a small number of unusually qualified women students for the present, at least." With that action practically all branches of higher scholarship in Harvard became open to women. The Divinity School did not accept women as candidates for degrees, but they could take courses in the history and philosophy of religion; graduate training for women wishing administrative or personnel work in business was provided, although the Graduate School of Business Administration did not accept women; the School of Public Health had awarded its first degree to a woman in 1938. The School of Dental Medicine was available to qualified women; the School of Design had accepted women in architecture since 1942, and in 1949 the Medical School conferred the M.D. on women for the first time.

In 1949 women received 118,534 of the 422,754 college degrees awarded in this country. They received 102,466 of the 366,634 bachelor's degrees, 15,549 of the 50,827 master's degrees, and 522 of the 5293 doctor's degrees. Women took more bachelor's degrees in the Southern states than in any other region. For their undergraduate work women concentrated most heavily in education, English, home economics, and business and commerce. For the master's degree women concentrated most heavily in education, social work, English, home economics, psychology, music, art, history, phys-

ical education, modern foreign languages, fine arts, business, and commerce. For the doctorate women concentrated heavily in education, chemistry, psychology, English, history, modern foreign languages, and physical education.

Educational progress of the negro. Some conditions surrounding the education of the negro have been discussed earlier (see pages 645-649). Dr. Charles S. Johnson¹ has noted that Harvard had been established nearly 200 years, the College of William and Mary more than 130 years, and Yale more than 125 years before the first negro received a college degree: John Russwurm was graduated from Bowdoin College in 1826, and Johnson says that shortly afterwards Russwurm "added to this accidental distinction that of being founder of *Freedom's Journal*, the first negro newspaper." For twenty years following his graduation only seven other negroes were graduated from recognized colleges and at the outbreak of the Civil War there had been but twenty-eight.

During the past decade more progress has been made in the education of this minority group than in any other similar period, not only in elementary, secondary, and college work but also in graduate and professional study. In 1948 there were about 80,000 negro students in higher educational institutions for negroes, the largest number being undergraduates and about one third being veterans of the Second World War. More than half of the undergraduates and more than three fourths of the graduate and professional students were reported in private institutions. In that year 8500 degrees, including 433 master's degrees, were awarded to negroes. Negro graduate students at that time numbered 1121 women and 863 men. Faculties in seventy-three colleges for negroes totaled 5851, of whom 2472 were women, accord-

¹"The Negro College Graduate." Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1938, p. 7. The great leader Booker T. Washington was the first negro to receive an honorary degree from a New England institution, a master's from Harvard 1896. For a moving account of this event, see his "Up From Slavery."

ing to information published by the United States Office of Education in 1950. At that time no negro institution offered the Ph.D.

Suits at law. Differences in salaries of negro and white teachers had long been the practice in the Southern states where separate schools were maintained. In 1940 the Fourth United States Circuit Court of Appeals held that differences based on race were discriminatory and unconstitutional, and after that opinion negro teachers in many Southern states brought legal action. No such action was brought in North Carolina, which in 1944 was the first Southern state to remove the differences. This was done as a recognition of the moral and legal obligations of the state, and in fulfillment of a pledge made earlier to its negro citizens. State officials and representative negroes chose to achieve equalization by agreement rather than litigation. At the middle of the century many of the Southern states were moving toward a similar plan of equalizing salaries.

In the spring of 1950 three suits were before the United States Supreme Court for decision on the issue of "separate but equal facilities" for negroes. Two of these involved education and one involved transportation. Educators, politicians, lawyers, and many other citizens who knew about the cases saw in these efforts an attempt to reverse an old decision which ruled that "separate but equal facilities" gave the equal protection guaranteed by the constitution, a decision that at first involved transportation¹ but by later decisions was extended to education. In 1950 the contention was that "equal but separate facilities" were not sufficient to provide equality in transportation or education. One view was that since the educational cases directly concerned higher education, the lower schools would not be involved.

¹Plessy v. Ferguson, 163 U. S., 537 The case came up from Louisiana and decision was given in 1896 which held as constitutional the state regulation of intrastate trains, of ordering equal but separate facilities for negroes.

But another view was that these would be involved, and there was much anxiety in the seventeen states and the District of Columbia where separate schools were legally maintained for the negroes and the whites. Decision of the Court against non-segregation would also involve the lower schools in those places where there were permissive or partly-segregated schools. Segregation was forbidden in twelve states: Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Washington. Wyoming and Indiana had permissive legislation for separate schools. Fourteen states were silent on the matter although in some of these states segregated schools for negroes had developed. The states were: California, Iowa, Maine, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Vermont, and Wisconsin.¹

Unanimous and precedent-making decisions in the three cases noted above were given by the Supreme Court of the United States in early June of 1950, and "struck down segregation of negroes and whites as practiced at two state universities and on railroads in the South." But the Court did not grant a request of the government that it reverse the 54-year-old decision (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896) which held that segregation is constitutional as long as "separate but equal" facilities are provided for negroes. The combined effect of the three decisions seemed to make it plain that such separate facilities must truly be "equal." The Court held in one case that Texas must admit to the law school of its university Herman Marion Sweatt, a negro, even though

¹See Reid E. Jackson, "The Development and Character of Permissive and Partly Segregated Schools," *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. XVI (Winter, 1947), pp. 301-310. In the same issue see Ellis O. Knox, "The Origin and Development of the Negro Separate School," pp. 269-279; George M. Johnson and Jane Marshall Lucas, "The Present Legal Status of the Negro Separate School," pp. 280-289; and Mary A. Morton, "The Education of Negroes in the District of Columbia," pp. 325-339.

it had established a separate law school for negroes, because the schools did not offer "substantial equality in the opportunities" for white and negro law students.¹ In the second case the Court held that Oklahoma must stop classroom segregation of G. W. McLaurin, a negro, in the graduate school of the university of that state. He and other negro students attended classes with white students, but were required to sit in different rows. In the third case the Court held that railroads cannot continue to separate negroes and whites in their dining cars. Most railroads in the South had maintained one or two tables for negroes but in most cases these were set aside by curtains or ropes. The Court held that the practice had to stop, because it violated the basic interstate-commerce legislation which forbade railroads to subject any person "to any undue or unreasonable prejudice or disadvantage."

Wars and education. Dr. I. L. Kandel has called attention to the fact that the connection between education and military victory had been recognized since early in the nineteenth century. "Thus the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton and the Battle of Sedan by the Prussian schoolmaster. As wars have become global and all the resources of the nations engaged in them must be drawn upon, it is inevitable that the normal life of all, whether in the combat services or far from the fighting fronts, should be completely disrupted. Under such conditions the normal progress of education is seriously affected."² And Dr. Kandel went on to note that the educational effect of the First World War, which had its impact chiefly on higher educa-

¹Earlier in 1950 a planned referendum by the students of the University of Texas on the question whether the institution should lift its ban on negro students was called off by a student court two days before the poll was to be taken. Those who opposed the referendum argued that a vote to retain the ban would encourage Russia to point an accusing finger to the United States, and a vote to lift it would outrage many Texans and perhaps put in peril legislative appropriations for the support of the institution.

²Op. cit. p. 3.

tion, was not so widespread as that of the Second World War, which touched not only the colleges and universities but elementary and secondary education and institutions for the training of teachers. Moreover, many parents were drawn into industries of war, home life was disrupted, and juvenile delinquency and child care presented baffling difficulties. And the entry of teachers into military service and other services connected with the war caused a serious crisis in education in this country.

In fighting the Second World War the national government found that it had gained some vital experience from cooperation with higher educational institutions in the First World War, through what was known as the Students' Army Training Corps. The first of these conflicts had brought home to the colleges and universities in all parts of the nation their heavy responsibilities for national defense. How these responsibilities were met by our educational institutions during the earlier war—the patriotic devotion which the colleges and universities then displayed—is an important, even though brief, chapter in the history of higher education in this country. The record of the schools and colleges and their students in the First World War was one of intelligent patriotism and high courage.

So was their record in the national emergency that broke upon the American people on December 7, 1941. Early in January following that "day of infamy," the National Conference of College and University Presidents on Higher Education and the War met in Baltimore and pledged to President Roosevelt "the total strength of our colleges and universities—our faculties, our students, our administrative organizations, and our physical facilities. The institutions of the United States are organized for action, and they offer their united power for decisive military victory, and for the ultimate and even more difficult task of establishing a just and lasting peace." The colleges were eager to prepare for total war.

These leaders of higher learning in the United States were aware that all that was needed to win the war could not then be accurately defined, nor could the total present or future resources of trained manpower be accurately appraised or predicted. New needs would doubtless appear as the months passed, after the treachery of Pearl Harbor. But one thing was clear: the presidents of the colleges and universities showed not only willingness but eagerness to see that all of the resources of their institutions be employed in the effort to win the war. They proclaimed that the surest and quickest route to victory was "the full, energetic, and planned use of all our resources and materials." They pledged full cooperation with the National Resources Planning Board and other agencies of the Federal Government, warned against the danger of "competitive bidding for faculty and students by government agencies and by industry," and emphasized the necessity for the conservation of adequate personnel on all levels of education so that effective instruction of youth and adults could be continued and an adequate supply of trained men and women continuously provided.

These academic leaders urged that appropriate plans be made to solve the problem of shortages of teaching personnel in the elementary and secondary schools, of workers in community programs, of an adequate supply of county agents and of leaders in the 4-H Clubs, home demonstration agents, and other leaders in rural life. They also urged the importance of retaining "as far as practicable a degree of uniformity" among the higher educational institutions with regard to wartime changes in the academic calendar and credit systems, "while making adjustments in the interest of acceleration."

The college and university presidents frankly recognized the increasing requirements of the government and industry for men and women trained in the technological and professional skills necessary in the war and the necessity of prepar-

ing such workers as speedily as possible. But they said that adjustments in the curricula should be made intelligently and that these requirements should be consistent with national needs and educational standards. Moreover, while the acceleration of programs in higher education seemed necessary, this should be achieved "without lowering of established standards of admission to college."

One of the most significant resolutions passed at Baltimore had to do with the subject of health education as an obligation of the schools and colleges. These educational leaders observed that "individual health is essential to national efficiency and to maximum war effort." At that time about 1,000,000 young men had been rejected for military service because of their inability to meet the minimum standards of physical fitness required for such service. They stressed the fact that all higher educational institutions should take the steps "necessary to bring each individual student to his highest possible level of physical fitness,"—not only sound advice for education in a country at war but equally sound for education in times of peace.

The demand for technically trained men. The requirements for the applications of science to military purposes had been heavy and exacting in the First World War. The demand for technically trained men was even heavier in the Second World War, which was a war of technology. The colleges were called upon to do their part in helping to win the war, and it was hoped that when the war was won the colleges would play an important part in helping to win the peace. Higher educational curricula were being radically revised; college degrees were offered in three, two and a half, and even two years; many academic traditions were being abandoned, and increasing emphasis was placed upon "speeding up," with much stress upon technological or so-called practical courses of training—especially the more immediately practical courses.

Acceleration and vocationalism. Questions were raised by some leaders in higher education as to whether the trend toward acceleration and vocationalism would provide the real solution to some of the problems in the field of higher education, even in the emergency of war. A closely related question was whether that trend would emphasize flaws in higher education and further impair those of its standards which needed strengthening. Some educators asked: "Was not education in the liberal arts and in the humanities just as important in times of war as in times of peace?" The Navy in its V-1, V-5, and V-7 programs of training insisted upon the continued study of liberal arts, indicating by this insistence that a broad and well-grounded education was of utmost importance in the emergency, and by implication asking whether higher education could afford to scrap the things which had been considered such an important part of it for so many centuries.

The humanities and liberal education. Wide discussion and publication on the humanities and a liberal education reflected concern about the college curricula and apparent dissatisfaction with the elective system. As early as 1936 a symposium had been held at the annual meeting of the Council of Learned Societies on humanistic studies in the universities, and the next year resolutions were presented on the subject by many learned organizations. There was wide discussion of "general" and "balanced" education which, advocates claimed, would provide a common background for students, in contrast to the growing emphasis on professional, "trade," vocational, and technological education—a controversy which had its roots deep in the past. Significance had been attached to the publication in 1938 of "A Student and His Knowledge," by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, based on a study of secondary and higher education in Pennsylvania, and to the Graduate Record Examination, developed by that Founda-

tion with the coöperation of colleges and universities. The rapid expansion of courses, due not only to the expansion of knowledge but to efforts of the colleges to fit their curricula to the "temper of the multitude," had caused some concern after the First World War. This concern had led to much experimentation with survey courses, orientation courses, general courses, and "general education," which Kandel says "resulted in courses offering a little of everything in relation to fields of knowledge and nothing in particular."¹ Between the two wars higher education had been characterized by "mechanical and external devices," in some cases indulged in to enlist public interest and support. President Walter A. Jessup of the Carnegie Foundation pointed to competition as one of the causes. "Just now we are in a mood to follow the new. Not only do we like to buy a new model of motor car or radio, we are attracted by the 'new education.' "

Over the claims of the humanities in college education, the American Council of Learned Societies stimulated local and regional conferences throughout the country in 1943 and 1944. There were criticisms of current higher educational practices by many people, including Robert M. Hutchins and Mortimer Adler of the University of Chicago; Mark Van Doren of Columbia University, whose "Liberal Education," in 1943, provoked considerable discussion; Stringfellow Barr and Scott Buchanan of St. John's College. This discussion was also carried to the general public by the weekly broadcasts of "Education for Freedom, Incorporated," between December of 1943 and March of 1944, on the purposes and the meaning of liberal education. The report of a Harvard Committee, appointed by President Conant in the spring of 1943, on the Objectives of a General Education in a Free Society was published in 1945 under the title "General Education in a Free Society." The report was widely read and discussed. In his "Annual Report" to the Board of Overseers

¹Op. cit. p. 182.

of Harvard in 1943 President Conant wrote: "The primary concern of American education today is not the development of the appreciation of the 'good life' in young gentlemen born to the purple. It is the infusion of the liberal and humane tradition into our entire educational system. Our purpose is to cultivate in the largest possible number of our future citizens an appreciation of both the responsibilities and the benefits which come to them because they are Americans and because they are free." It was reported in *The New York Times* on April 16, 1950, that the leading scientific schools of the United States were giving more attention than formerly to liberal arts and that responsible educators throughout the country were "convinced that general education and the social sciences have a vital part to play in the total educational program of the technical man. It is not enough, they say, to train a good engineer; he must also know how to be a responsible citizen. As one college president recently remarked, 'the scientist must not only know how to make an H-bomb, but he must also know how to prevent it from destroying the world.' "

Marriages, divorces, births, illegitimacy. The marriage rate varied more widely in the past decade and a half than in all the period since 1867, when national data on marriages were first available. The lowest rate recorded was 7.9 per 1000 in 1932; the highest was 16.3 per 1000 in 1946. The divorce rate, which had been climbing for many years, accelerated its rise in the period immediately following the Second World War and reached an all-time high in 1946. Examination of the figures showed that the upswing in the divorce rate was sharpest among couples married less than five years, due, it was believed, to wartime marriages. About 5,500,000 persons had been divorced between 1940 and 1946, but a representative of the National Council of Family Relations was quoted as saying: "Divorce is inevitable in a society where romantic love and free choice are the founda-

tions of marriage." If there were any comfort in the record it was that about three fifths of the marriages dissolved by divorce were childless. The proportion of divorces involving children varied considerably with the duration of marriage. In 1948 about 313,000 children under the age of twenty-one were involved in 421,000 absolute decrees granted. Including the marital partners there were 1,155,000 persons in families dissolved by divorce, a figure that did not include homes broken up by separation and desertion.

About the close of the first half of the present century, the birth rate continued so high that estimates of educational needs ("Today's babies are tomorrow's school children") had to be revised. Some careful observers seemed to believe that the birth rate would "flatten out" as it had done after the First World War, but the figures that were coming in did not show this to be an accurate prophecy. The increase in births in the continental United States between 1929 and 1949 was approximately as follows:

1929	. . . . .	2,169,000
1930	. . . . .	2,203,000
1931	. . . . .	2,112,000
1932	. . . . .	2,074,000
1933	. . . . .	2,081,000
1934	. . . . .	2,167,000
1935	. . . . .	2,155,000
1936	. . . . .	2,144,000
1937	. . . . .	2,203,000
1938	. . . . .	2,286,000
1939	. . . . .	2,265,000
1940	. . . . .	2,360,000
1941	. . . . .	2,513,000
1942	. . . . .	2,808,000
1943	. . . . .	2,934,000
1944	. . . . .	2,794,000
1945	. . . . .	2,735,000
1946	. . . . .	3,288,000
1947	. . . . .	3,699,000
1948	. . . . .	3,599,000
1949	. . . . .	3,592,000

Illegitimate births are of great interest to the educator, the social worker, public-welfare worker, and public-health worker, for these people are directly concerned with the problems of unmarried mothers and their children. Illegitimate births greatly increased between 1938 and 1947, as the following table¹ of living illegitimate children shows:

YEAR	WHITE	NONWHITE	TOTAL
1938	41,200	46,800	88,000
1939	40,400	48,100	88,500
1940	40,300	49,200	89,500
1941	41,900	53,800	95,700
1942	42,000	54,500	96,500
1943	42,800	55,400	98,200
1944	49,600	55,600	105,200
1945	56,400	60,900	117,300
1946	61,400	63,800	125,200
1947	60,500	71,500	132,000

Inflation of curricula and strictures on the schools. At the first annual dinner of the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, in the early part of 1950, Chairman Roy E. Larsen read a letter from President Truman who said that the schools of this country "must be strengthened and improved if they are to equip today's children and youth to meet the need for intelligent, patient and constructive leadership as the future unfolds." President Conant of Harvard University described the Commission as "one of the outstanding events in the history of education in this half-century." General Omar N. Bradley, Chairman of the Chiefs of Staff, said that "if some dramatic incident could shock the American people to an awareness of public educa-

¹"Illegitimate Births, 1938-1947." Vital Statistics-Special Reports; Studies. Federal Security Agency, Public Health Service, National Office of Vital Statistics. February 15, 1950. "Estimates were derived by adding an estimate of the number of illegitimate births in states not requiring a legitimacy statement on the birth record to the number of illegitimate live births tabulated for the reporting states. No estimates were included for misstatements on the birth record or for failure to register births."

tion, they would react as unitedly as they did at Pearl Harbor," but he pointed to "a parade of embarrassing statistics" that showed failure to accomplish this purpose. "The growing inadequacy of our public-school system is creeping up in every community," he said.

The General's strictures may seem hard sayings, but for two or more decades critics of the schools had seemed more numerous than formerly, especially in the educationally fair-weather days of the middle 1920's. Many of the critics pointed vigorously and sharply to the "chief hindrances to decent education" in this country. Among these hindrances, the critics said, was the strong tendency to overload the schools with responsibilities, real or imaginary, which should be assumed and met by other institutions, including the home and family and the church. The blame for the condition of inflated curricula, which seemed to expand and to become more and more congested, was charged by reliable observers to the fanciful claims of those responsible for setting up instructional programs in the schools and for the training and certification of teachers. Perhaps few "professional" educators would agree with Bernard Iddings Bell, Consultant on Education to the Episcopal Bishop of Chicago, and a former professor in Columbia University, who, nevertheless, said that this "sad state of affairs" could be charged to "the unrealistic pretensions of school administrators (school of education professors aiding and abetting them) who are understandably even though unforgivably anxious to magnify their office. . . ." He also said:

Anyone who listens to current school pretensions and who knows the facts about equipment and personnel and financial resources is bound to conclude that American schools and colleges have been biting off more than they can chew. The results are bad. Boys and girls have little time for a thorough mastery of the old-fashioned school subjects, because overworked and unskilled instructors are fooling around with attempts to integrate the char-

acters of the poor little devils and nurse them into social and spiritual maturity—and failing at that too. The parents, lulled into a sense of security, have largely abdicated; the schools cannot take over this responsibility, and yet many school people are puffed up with a sense of imagined omnipotence. . . .¹

A dozen years earlier the distinguished historian Charles A. Beard, in an address before the National Education Association, had deplored the tendency to overload the schools:

The teacher is not a physician, a nurse, a soldier, a policeman, a politician, a businessman, a farmer or an industrial worker. . . . The teacher's principal business is the training of minds and the dissemination of knowledge. . . . If the primary function of the public schools is the training of minds and the dissemination of knowledge that is useful to individuals and society, then the teacher cannot be firewarden, policeman, soldier and politician combined. On the contrary the teacher is another kind of person, with other duties and responsibilities—the duty and responsibility of the scholar. . . .²

Dr. Beard could have noted also that there was a tendency to make the teacher any number of things—a specialist on health, hygiene, marriage counseling, delinquency, morality, local politics, propaganda, taxation, unemployment, international relations, soil erosion, bird migration, automotive mechanics, and perhaps sculpture.

During the years of the depression, in the 1930's, the schools had been promptly called upon to build a new social order and to encourage the school children to solve the social, economic, and political problems which the wisest men of the past had failed to solve and which few if any of the children's teachers were capable of solving. The tendency,

¹"The School Can't Take the Place of the Home," *The New York Times Magazine*, May 8, 1948, later a part of the book, "Crisis in Education," by Bernard Iddings Bell, Whittlesey House, 1949. Quoted by permission.

²"The Scholar in an Age of Conflict," *School and Society*, Vol. 43 (February, 1936), pp. 278-279.

which continued through the remaining years of the first half of the twentieth century, was to remove the walls of the schools so that the children could look out upon the ills and afflictions of the world, and often those of tender age were plunged into a superficial study of "community resources." Keenly observant critics saw a growing tendency toward an increasing contempt for accurate and disciplined information, and some of them said that modern American pedagogy represented a denial of the experience of the race and was characterized by accommodation to the mood of the moment, to the temporary and transitory demands of a single brief period.

The critics could also have observed that knowledge is so constantly on the increase that the extracurricular as well as curricular offerings in the schools and colleges of the country differed at mid-century from those of the old days as much as the ox cart and the horse and buggy differed from the automobile and airplane today—offerings, however, bewilderingly numerous and diffuse if not actually inflated, almost to the point of educational indecency. It was pointed out that the schools could not "do everything and go to mill too." Mortimer Smith, in his amiable and delightful satire on American education that appeared in 1949,¹ complained that this educational jumble formed a disturbing and

¹"And Madly Teach." Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. This "layman and amateur" had his eyes opened to public education when he became a member of a local board of education in Connecticut, an experience which made him determined to reveal what the people were paying for in education, to the influence of which they so recklessly turned over their children. Smith noted that the schools were teaching everything except how to get in out of the rain. In March, 1950, Albert Lynd, an ex-teacher and later a businessman in Boston, asked whether the teachers' colleges and schools of education were "mere diploma mills for teachers." The question came home to Mr. Lynd through his experience as a member of a local school board in Massachusetts. See "Quackery in the Public Schools," *The Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 185 (March, 1950), pp. 33-38. See also "Who Teaches the Teachers?" *Life Magazine*, October 16, 1950, pp. 146-154.

"devastating picture which needs to be pondered by every parent, taxpayer and teacher." Smith lambasted the "abnormal emphasis on method at the expense of content"; administrators whose primary concern seemed to be with "the new electric waxing machine and the noiseless plastic inkwells"; professors of education, teacher-educational institutions that "train," and state departments of education that certificate teachers; and many other features of the general public-education scene. Combining his own personal experience "with what I have been told by those in a position to know, I would venture to assert that an educated person in any of our state departments [of education] would find himself very lonely indeed."

A different kind of criticism was made in March of 1950 by Headmistress Lucinda Templin of the Radford School for Girls in El Paso, Texas, who especially urged that character and good manners be formed in young people. She pointed her finger at many Rotarians, Kiwanians, Civitans, and members of other civic and service clubs in many parts of the country and told them: "You are not going to like anything I say, but I don't care, so long as you listen." And listen they did, while she told them that parents "were passing the buck" to the schools.

Fathers alibi too much . . . take the path of least resistance, are too indulgent, lack integrity, brag at home about business deals, even though those deals have a tint of shadiness to them. . . . It shows up in the children, who view ethical wrong as getting caught, ethical goodness as getting by. . . . Character is the glue that holds society together. It has been allowed to dry out. We'll come unstuck right quick if we don't do something about it.

The reports of the press said that her audiences listened and liked it. One father, who had become annoyed because Dr. Templin had corrected his daughter's table manners, had it from the headmistress: "Your daughter is the only girl

I have ever seen who butters her bread with her thumb, and I won't have it."

Public education becomes more and more secular. Education in the United States during the past half century, and particularly during the past decade or two, came into closer relationship than ever before with other institutions, agencies, and organizations—the home, industry and business, social-service organizations, and virtually every aspect of the community, except the church, where relationships apparently were becoming increasingly tenuous. Although education in this country, historically, is a child of the church and religion, public education was becoming more and more secular and the issue of "Church and State" appeared to be getting sharper as the twentieth century advanced. There was complaint from religious groups and the religious press against the growing secularism of public education, and there was some anguish when Mr. Justice Frankfurter of the United States Supreme Court wrote that the United States flag was the "symbol of national unity," transcending everything else, and he supported the decision, referred to earlier, which was made in 1940 but later reversed, that children of Jehovah's witnesses could be expelled from school for refusing to salute the flag. And there was further religious anxiety when the Court held, in the McCollum Case in 1949, that public-school buildings could not be used for religious instruction. The apparently increasing tendency toward "statism" in the public schools was disturbing to those who believed that religion had an important place in education.

Fresh interest in the education of teachers. This was stimulated in the 1940's by the work of the Commission on Teacher Education of the American Council on Education, which had been formed in 1938 for a five-year period, and in which many specialists, twenty higher educational institutions, and fourteen school systems and groups of systems coöperated. Out of this survey came many interesting and

useful publications as well as wide and helpful discussion. Exactly how permanent the influence of that work was and what desirable practices in the education of teachers have been and will be promoted by the effort, the future historian will have to report.

It was a bit disturbing to some observers that the causes of the acute shortage of teachers after the Second World War were not unlike the causes of the teacher shortage after the First World War and during the depression. The American people seemed slow to learn that adequate salaries, as well as better conditions of preparation, working, tenure, and retirement of teachers were basic to the solution of the most persistent problem in American education. Perhaps no educational emergency was so threatening to the idea of public education as the shortage of teachers and the strikes and rumors of strikes by those whose loyalty was put to heavy strain and who felt that the public was unconsciously delinquent toward the schools. On Christmas Day of 1946 Dr. Gallup's American Institute of Public Opinion reported "widespread public sympathy with the economic plight of school teachers."¹

In his very revealing survey of educational conditions in the United States, published in *The New York Times* in the early part of 1947, Dr. Benjamin Fine reported that 350,000 teachers had left the public schools since 1940; that 125,000 teachers, one in every seven, were serving on emergency or substandard certificates; that 70,000 teaching positions were unfilled because communities could not get the teachers; that 60,000 teachers had only a high-school education or less; and that 175,000 teachers were new to their jobs each year, twice the "turnover" that had existed before the

¹See the twelve articles by Benjamin Fine in *The New York Times*, beginning February 10, 1947, which dealt with conditions in the nation's schools and colleges. See his article in the same newspaper for April 7, 1950. The shortage of teachers was a serious threat to the public-school system.

Second World War. He also found that the teachers in the United States received an average of \$37 a week but that 200,000 received less than \$25 a week. Another fact in the discouraging conditions was that fewer students were entering the teaching profession than in the past. In 1920 about 22 per cent of all college students were in teachers' colleges; in 1947 only 7 per cent were in such institutions. The shortage of teachers accounted for the closing of 6000 schools and the 75,000 children who had no schooling during that year. According to the study 5,000,000 children would receive an inferior education that year because of the inadequate supply of teachers. In 1947 the average teacher had one less year of education than she or he had had in 1939. One state commissioner of education was quoted as saying: "We no longer ask whether an applicant can read and write. If she looks as though she is able to stand up, we take her." Since 1949 about 50,000 men and women had left teaching and did not plan to return to it. In the same year only 15 per cent of all elementary and high-school teachers were men. Twelve major strikes of teachers had taken place between September, 1946, and February, 1947, when this country was spending only 1.5 per cent of its national income for education. Great Britain was spending an estimated 3 per cent, the Soviet Union was reported to have been spending much more. There were other appalling educational conditions and inequalities. Some schools spent as much as \$6000 per classroom unit while those at the other extreme were spending only \$100, against the national average of \$1600. The survey showed that nearly \$5,000,000,000 would be needed to bring the educational plants into adequate condition.

Among the causes of the acute shortage of teachers in the 1940's—in addition to those, already mentioned, of salary, working conditions, tenure, and the rest—were the demand of the war effort for skilled and unskilled workers of all kinds

and general inability or unwillingness to meet the requirements. Although requirements for certification were generally relaxed, the usual requirements were probably keeping then—and are keeping now—many able and promising young people out of training for teaching. A professor of English at Harvard was quoted as saying that in the ten years of his teaching in that institution he had “yet to find a first-class person who was preparing to teach in the public-school system.”

General alarm over this educational crisis led to energetic efforts among public-spirited laymen and educational organizations to improve conditions. There were some legislative efforts to encourage young people to go into teaching. By the end of the decade conditions were showing signs of improvement.

Educational activities of the government. The responsibility of the government for providing opportunities for the “continued non-military education of men and women in the armed forces” was recognized, and recognition was given later to the responsibility of the government for providing educational opportunities for the military personnel for readjustment to civilian life after the last war. Among the activities that developed was the Army Institute, later known as the United States Armed Forces Institute, established in Madison, Wisconsin, which administered correspondence courses directly and worked also through extension divisions in colleges and universities to make courses available to military personnel who desired secondary or college credit. This program developed rapidly and by the middle of 1944 provision had been made for 275 courses through the Institute, and eighty-three colleges and universities offered 7000 courses. By February 1, 1946, approximately 800,000 service men had enrolled for correspondence and self-teaching courses and about 1,000,000 had enrolled for classes organized and conducted on army installations.

In 1943 President Roosevelt signed the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, and the next year he signed the Service Men's Readjustment Act, which, with amendment, came to be known as the GI Bill of Rights, both statutes to be administered by the Veterans' Administration.

The educational level of enlisted men in the Army in the Second World War was considerably higher than in the first. An analysis of this level, and representing more than 7,000,000 men, showed that 23.7 per cent had from one to eight years of grade-school education; 32.5 per cent had from one to three years of secondary education; 41 per cent had four years of high school and from one to three years of college; and 2.8 per cent had four years of college and above. Of the general population 42.7 per cent had no more than an eighth-grade education as compared with a figure of only 28.6 per cent of the enlisted men in the Second World War.¹

In the fall of 1946 enrollments of 1,331,138 students in 668 colleges showed that 714,477, or 53.7 per cent, were veterans. Of about 350,000 students in 650 junior colleges 150,000 were veterans. Veterans enrolled under the educational provisions of the GI Bill of Rights by December 31, 1946, numbered 1,572,049, a figure that included those enrolled in secondary schools, colleges, and universities. The number of disabled veterans in vocational courses under the Vocational Rehabilitation Act was nearly 107,000 and the number taking on-the-job training was more than 629,000. The number of veterans who had received education or training under the GI Bill of Rights by March 1, 1949, was 5,827,000. The number who received GI unemployment allowances by February 1 of that year was 7,711,500, and the number who received GI self-employment allowances by the same date was 668,250. The number who received guaranteed loans by February 25, 1949, was 1,572,538.

¹Kandel, *op. cit.* pp 246-247

The Federal Government and other educational services. For the year ending June 30, 1948, appropriations by the Federal Government to aid, support, or otherwise pay for educational services in the states, territories, District of Columbia, institutions, and governmental services amounted to nearly \$3,000,000,000, as follows:

For the support of land-grant colleges	\$5,030,000
Agricultural experiment stations	8,030,807
Coöperative agricultural extension service	27,455,370
Vocational education below college level	25,035,122
Vocational rehabilitation	18,000,000
School lunches	54,000,000
Schools in war-congested areas	6,646,340
Education and training of veterans	2,122,292,440
Value of surplus property for schools—Army and Navy donable property	201,406,030
Value of surplus property for schools—real property	284,473,734
Construction cost of property to schools enrolling veterans	79,446,379
Equipment value of property to schools enrolling veterans	87,013,725
Funds for Federal Government services to education, in- cluding U. S. Office of Education, Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, Bureau of Indian Affairs, U. S. Military and Naval Academies, Howard University, Public Schools of Panama and the District of Columbia	34,034,986
Total	\$2,953,785,539

A Federal program of considerable magnitude and significance was that of lunches for children in elementary and secondary schools, for the support of which Federal funds increased from \$12,646,000 in 1940 to \$92,200,000 nine years later. This program was begun in a small way during the depression in the 1930's, in part to justify the use of surplus agricultural products and to give work to people who were unemployed. Its promotion was stimulated by people interested in agriculture, in education, and in the physical and mental health of American children. There were, however, criticisms that the program was encouraged in part to support prices of agricultural commodities, and

that it was not primarily educational in principle or practice. Assistance under the program to nonpublic schools was regarded with some apprehension by the critics. And there was also criticism that local educational officials were required to deal with numerous Federal agencies in the administration of the program. But the enterprise was vigorously defended by the Task Force of Herbert Hoover's Commission on Public Welfare which was published in 1950.¹

Most of the total budgetary identifiable and available sums of money obligated for education by the Federal Government in the fiscal year of 1947 were for items connected with war or defense, such as educational facilities for veterans, schools in defense areas, pre-service or in-service education for those in the armed forces, military research through universities, or for raising the educational level of the armed forces. If such items as training in military service schools, the various educational activities of the Atomic Energy Commission, and the surplus war property given or sold at heavy discount to educational institutions should be included the sums would be much larger. As many as nine departments or independent agencies of the government, working through numerous subagencies, were making large grants or entering into contracts with colleges and universities for research.² Between 1947 and 1949 Federal funds for research in higher educational institutions practically doubled. The sum in 1949 was more than \$160,000,000. In his message on the budget to the Congress in the early part of 1950, President Truman emphasized the role of education and research in American democracy.

¹Hollis P. Allen, "The Federal Government and Education" New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1950 This is the complete study by that important commission on public welfare in the United States and is very useful for students and teachers of educational history, particularly on the subject of federal relations to education.

²For the extent of these appropriations see Allen, *op. cit.* p. 143

Federal aid is shelved. Prior to the 1920's, when the subject of Federal aid to education came to be widely discussed and vigorously advocated and opposed, such aid had been a matter of much concern, especially in the years from 1870 to 1890, when the Hoar Bill and the Blair Bills (see page 561) were before the Congress. In 1870 George F. Hoar had introduced into the House of Representatives a bill to establish a national system of education which, although it was voted down, was nevertheless the beginning of an intense struggle which was to be waged for many years over the relations of the national government to education in the states. This bill was a significant attempt to impose by law a nationally controlled system of education. Between the failure of the Hoar Bill and the revival of interest in Federal aid to education after the First World War there had been wide interest in the Blair Bills of the 1880's. Eleven bills for Federal aid were introduced into the Congress between 1872 and 1880, but only four came to the floor and only two received consideration, one by the House and one by the Senate. Each of these passed in the chamber in which it had originated but failed in the other chamber.¹ From 1884 to 1890 the Blair Bills were before Congress, and discussions of these legislative efforts resembled the debates and discussions that went on in the 1940's. Fear of mixed schools in the South, fear of complete Federal domination of education, and the complexity of the religious implications in public education were sharply revealed in these earlier debates.

Proposals for Federal aid were numerous in the 1940's and widely discussed. In the middle of March of 1950, however, the Committee on Education and Labor of the House of

¹See Gordon C. Lee, "The Struggle for Federal Aid. First Phase: A History of the Attempts to Attain Federal Aid for the Common Schools, 1870-1890." New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1949

Representatives rejected, by a vote of thirteen to twelve, a bill for Federal aid to education already approved by the Senate, after it had been discussed behind closed doors for more than a month. The proposal was finally caught in the national religious controversy which had become prominent the previous summer. The House Committee turned down amendments to prohibit the use of Federal funds for parochial and private schools and also amendments to require such use. The decisive test found advocates of both extremes voting against the bill, along with strong opponents of Federal educational aid and those who believed that the issue had become "too hot to handle" in an election year.¹

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In several volumes, this report is of high significance, but aroused much controversy. Two members of the Commission dissented from its financial recommendations

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Answers the critics of public education. Strikes back at those "who carp because the schools don't make superhuman citizens out of human clay"

SMITH, MORTIMER. *And Madly Teach*. Chicago, 1949.

A "layman and amateur" who wrote a brief essay that so bristled with criticisms of the foibles and pitfalls of contemporary American education that it provoked arguments from professors of education and meetings of the P.T.A.

The Council of State Governments. The Forty-Eight State School Systems. Chicago, 1949.

Contains many useful and significant, as well as some disturbing, facts about American education near the middle of the twentieth century. Shows how uneven progress had been.

QUESTIONS FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION

1. Make a study and report on the major cases before the Supreme Court of the United States since 1940 that have involved educational matters. Compare or contrast the arguments of the majority opinion in the flag-saluting cases in 1940 (310 U. S., 586-607) and in 1943 (319 U. S., 624 ff.). Compare or contrast the arguments given in the majority opinion of the Supreme Court in the New Jersey Bus Case in 1947 (330 U. S., 1-74), and in the McCollum Case in 1948 (333 U. S., 203-256).

2. Look up in *The New York Times* for November 21, 1948, the statement by the Catholic Bishops who attacked the "evil" of secularism in American education and report on their arguments.

3. Make a study and report on cases at law involving the education of negroes since the Missouri or Gaines Decision (pp 648-649), noting the constitutional principle or principles which the Court invoked in each case.

4. Study and report on the major purposes of UNESCO, indicating its achievements to date.

5. Read and report on I. L. Kandel's "The Impact of the War upon American Education," indicating the points of heaviest impact.

6. Efforts at Federal educational aid have been made since the Hoar Bill of 1870 but such aid had not been achieved by 1950. What issues have been most influential in preventing favorable action by Congress on such proposals? What were the chief causes of the shelving of proposed legislation on the subject in the early part of 1950?

7. State as clearly as you can the arguments for and those against loyalty oaths for teachers.

8. Study and make a report on the immense higher-educational undertaking projected in the late 1940's in New York State. What are its major purposes?

9. Study and make a report on the regional plan of graduate and professional work in the Southern states. What are its major purposes? How is the plan financially supported?

10. Study and make a report on President Truman's Commission on Higher Education. What were the objections of the two members of the Commission who dissented from the majority report? What are the advantages and the disadvantages of Federal scholarships for collegiate students?

11. Failures in high schools and colleges have been noticeably high in recent years. What are the main causes of such failures?

12. Study and make a report on the article "Millions of B.A.'s, but No Jobs" in *The New York Times Magazine*, January 2, 1948

13. Study and report on the article by Benjamin Fine in *The New York Times*, January 9, 1950, on the inadequate educational facilities in this country at that time. Show how adequate facilities can be provided.

14. Show why Federal participation in educational activities has greatly increased since 1932.

15. In the fall of 1950 Harvard opened its Law School to qualified women students. Show why higher educational opportunities for women equal to those for men were so long delayed in this country

16. Study the references given in the section in this chapter on the inflation of the curricula and discuss the views of Mortimer Smith, Bernard Iddings Bell, Charles A. Beard, and Albert Lynd. Indicate the chief causes of the inflation.

17. The shortage of properly prepared teachers was pointed to as a grave threat to education in this country in the middle of the twentieth century. Study and offer a solution for the problem.

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